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memoirs of an EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

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MEMOIRS

of an

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

by

D. C. PAVATE

Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University

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PREFACE

This is neither a complete autobiography nor an exhaustive account of a period which has proved to be an epoch in the history of education in our country. Perhaps it is a little of both. An attempt has been made in these pages to narrate, in the context of my personal experience as an educational officer, the main trends, the difficulties and the achievements of the last thirty years in the field of education, from the Primary to the University.

An educational administrator measures the success of all educational effort by the returns in the shape of thinking and disciplined men and women whom educational institutions have produced. If in these pages the reader occasionally finds that I am rather critical or disappointed at places with the results, it is largely because I am trained as an educational administrator to safeguard the public interests and the public money expended on education.

Although the facts that this book puts on record are related mainly to the old Bombay province (*viz*., parts of the present Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore States), the topics discussed are of wider interest, in particular to educationists and educational administrators, and to the public generally, including legislators and the Government.

Over the checking of the facts described in the book, I have had much help from two officers of the old Bombay Government—Professor Armando Menezes and Miss Sulabha Panandikar. They both read the manuscript carefully and made valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the text. I am indebted to both of them. Neither of them is, however, responsible for opinions and possible prejudices, or for any errors which may still remain. My Publishers—Messrs. Prentice-Hall of India (Private) Ltd.—have been kind and obliging to me throughout. I must thank Mr. Robert L. Donaho, Managing Director, and the Production staff—Messrs. Anton Siqueira, Vijay Franklin and F. Edward Kaula—for the courtesy and accomodating spirit shown me in the production of this book.

Karnatak University. Dharwar,
2nd August, 1964

D. C. Pavate

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. D. C. Pavate has had a brilliant academic career at the Bombay and Cambridge Universities. He was a Research Scholar at the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1927 and Professor of Mathematics at the Banaras Hindu University during the years 1928-30.

He joined the Bombay Educational Service Class I (administrative branch) in 1930, as a Divisional Inspector of schools. After holding several administrative posts under the old Bombay Government, he became Director of Public Instruction in January 1947, which post he held till he retired from Government service in June 1954. Since then he has been Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University. He has thus had continuous administrative experience of all branches of Education for over thirty years. He has all along been interested in the spread of education among the masses and raising the standard of education at the secondary and the university stage. Along with his interest in Educational Administration, he has given considerable time and energy to the improvement of secondary school Mathematics. He is the author of several texts in Mathematics, which are widely used in secondary schools and colleges.

He was a member of the Official Language Commission 1955-56, Chairman of the Gauhati University Enquiry Commission 1961-62, and is a member of the University Grants Commission. He was President of the Inter-University Board of India in 1959 and a member of the Executive Council of the Association of Commonwealth Universities for the years 1962-64.

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CONTENTS

Chapter			
Chapter I	Mother	..	*1*
II	Childhood	..	*3*
III	Adolescence	..	*10*
IV	The Karnatak College	..	*21*
V	Three years at Cambridge	..	*31*
VI	First appointment	..	*53*
VII	The years at Banaras	..	*58*
VIII	Appointment under Bombay Government	..	*69*
IX	Training and Experience (1930-1937)	..	*78*
X	Problems of Secondary Education	..	*98*
XI	Problems of Primary Education	..	*118*
XII	Provincial Autonomy	..	*133*
XIII	Basic Education	..	*159*
XIV	The Problem of Textbooks	..	*168*
XV	Section 93 Regime	..	*178*
XVI	The return of the Congress Government	..	*190*
XVII	As Director of Public Instruction	..	*208*
XVIII	The Karnatak University	..	*280*
XIX	Some Problems of University Education	..	*306*
XX	Epilogue	..	*331*

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CHAPTER ONE :

mother

Mamdapur is a village in the district of Belgaum, about fourteen kilometres from Gokak. The name appears to have come from Mahamadshah, a Sardar of the Bijapur kings in the 15th century. The only landmarks of this village are a temple of Shiva, and a strong fort which can be seen from a long distance. Legend has it that both were built about the same time, in the 13th century. Before the village came under the Moslem rule, it was known as 'Gachinkurbet' and it is still known by that name among the village folk of the surrounding areas.

The following event took place in the village, in a big rectangular house built of stone but plastered with mud. It had two living-rooms on one side, and a cattle-shed and a kitchen on the other. Between them was an open verandah. On 10th January, 1901, there was a pathetic scene in one of the living-rooms. A woman lay dying in bed. Bubonic plague had been raging in the village for the past two months. Her husband, her four sons and her sister-in-law were the only relations by her side. Most of the inhabitants of the village had been driven by the epidemic to live on their farms far away. Suddenly the woman opened her eyes and said to the youngest child, "Dadanna, I am going to die. Feed here (pointing to her breast) for the last time." The child was only a year and a half old, but was wiser than his years. Here was a clash of instincts; the filial instinct said yes; but there was a deeper and healthier instinct that said no. As the child hesitated, turned away, the dying woman smiled and said, "Oh, then you won't miss me." Then she turned to her husband, and there was a smile now: "Look, before I die I want you to promise me two things. One is that you will not marry again, for our children's sake. They have to be well brought up and we are none too rich even if you don't take up more burdens. The other is, keep in well with our neighbours." He readily promised, as he loved her and the children immensely. These were her last words, and in a few minutes, closing her eyes for ever,

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she passed into the eternal silence.

The woman was my mother and I her fourth and youngest son. My three elder brothers were named Sangappa, Veerbhadrappa and Patreppa. My own name—'Dada', with variations like Dadanna or Dadappa—is a Maharashtrian usage for the 'eldest brother' or a 'very respectable person'. My father's name Chintappa (or Chintamani) and surname Pavate are also Marathi names. In fact, our family, according to tradition, migrated from the present Sholapur district about three hundred years ago. Once we were a flourishing family, with extensive lands and plenty of cattle; but we had fallen on evil days, and my father, although he was a hard-working farmer, was extremely poor. Some of the Pavates had been, in the past, distinguished Kannada scholars and were so orthodox and religious minded that they were known in the village as 'Sharanas' (pious and holy) even in my time. Love for the Kannada language and Veerasaiva literature seems to be one of the family characteristics wherever it may be.

Father was heavily in debt at the time of my mother's death. A money-lender had induced him a few years before to buy a new bullock and had advanced two hundred rupees at an exorbitant rate of interest, so that in about five years it had amounted to eight hundred rupees. The money-lender had obviously an eye on the fertile ten acres owned very close to the village. After my mother's death, my father decided to sell half of the land and clear off the debt. Curiously enough, the money-lender suggested that there was no hurry; but my father insisted, and the debt was paid. Another money-lender appeared on the scene soon after. He said to my father, "You are still young, why don't you marry again? I shall advance any amount you may need for the expenses." But my father, although he was only thirty five years old, had every intention of keeping the word he had given his dying wife, and so he told the money-lender that he would not get into a money-lender's clutches again. With that determination he toiled on his farm, and we had a poor but fairly comfortable life off the five acres of land we then possessed. We had also a cow and two bullocks. My father used to milk the cow and give me a cup of fresh milk to drink in the cattle-shed itself every morning. This is one of the few things I remember from my infancy. My birth-date according to official records is 2nd August, 1899. So I belong to the 19th century.

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CHAPTER TWO :

childhood

The environment in which I was brought up as a child had many features which people brought up in cities or in affluent circumstances would miss. First of all, there was no high and low in a society in which all people followed the same profession of agriculture. Some, indeed, did possess more land than others; but the standard of living was about the same. Everybody ate the same kind of food—tastier and more nutritive, I still feel, than city people are accustomed to—and dressed the same way, while children up to the age of nine or ten were only half-dressed. Secondly despite the diversity of castes and creeds, there was essential unity among the people. Such factions as occasionally arose were based on personal quarrels and jealousies, not on caste and creed. Thirdly, by and large, the villagers worked hard to get the best their land could yield. Work for them was indeed worship. Fourthly, periodical recreations, such as open-air dramas (Doddat), wrestling matches, religious discussions and musical entertainments relieved the monotony of village life. Fifthly, there was little privacy ; anybody's affair was everybody's affair. There was such fellow-feeling among the people that nothing could happen, whether a marriage or an illness, without the uncalled-for advice of the whole village. Life at Mamdapur about sixty years ago was great fun. Everybody, to judge by the manner of address, might have been everybody's blood relation. No matter what your caste or creed, we would call all brother, sister, uncle, aunty, grandpa, grandma and so on. I do not remember addressing any elderly persons by their name. Our next-door neighbours were shepherds, but even so, as a child, I considered them as my relations. I called one of them 'uncle', and he loved me so much that I was practically brought up by him for two or three years, until he died, like my mother, of the plague. Most of the villagers were Lingayats, who formed about two-thirds of the population. Of the remaining one-third, a few were shepherds, Bedars and Moslems. These three communities were generally regard-

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ed as lower, for the simple reason that they occasionally ate meat. There were four Brahmin families, who, too, were brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts as far as social life was concerned. When one of my brothers, Patreppa, died of cholera at the age of eighteen, I remember an elderly Brahmin woman weeping as inconsolably as any of us. Moharrum was celebrated with equal enthusiasm by Hindus and Moslems alike. In short, it was a very close-knit society and there was no high or low about any class. A common link between them was their grinding poverty. There was neither sophistication nor inordinate ambition among them. They had no desire to grow rich at the cost of others. Anti-social elements like money-lenders usually came from outside the village. I remember going to a near-by house to fetch milk and curds every morning when our cow went dry. The woman who gave me the milk and curds was old enough to be my mother, and I was only about five years old. Yet she would insist on addressing me as 'maidana' (brother-in-law) and never by name. She would say affectionately, "Come on, Maidana; here is your milk and here are the curds." I asked my real aunt (father's sister), who was looking after us after my mother's death, why the woman called me 'maidana'. She explained it was a custom which had been in vogue for years between our families. There was logic in it too. The woman's husband called my father uncle, and so I became his brother and his wife's brother-in-law! This made no sense to me. I was so young and the woman so old. Yet, this practice prevailed in the village, with the result that every single soul out of the population of about two thousand regarded all the rest as some sort of relation, irrespective of caste and creed. When somebody had six or seven daughters, I noticed that many young people used to address him as 'mava' (father-in-law), as though they were prospective sons-in-law. The mode of life has since changed considerably in the village; and whenever I go there, I miss the peace and contentment and above all the fellowship which prevailed during my childhood.

At home, we were all brought up under strict discipline. Each one of us had to do our assigned domestic duties, such as fetching water from the well, sweeping the floor and washing the clothes. Everyone had to help in the agricultural operations almost throughout the year. The Primary schools, in those days, charged a monthly fee of one anna (about a cent or a penny). To save this, my elder brother taught me at home. The Primary school course consisted of the infant class and Stds. I to VII; but since there were only three teachers in the school, the Headmaster often did

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not care to run the upper Primary classes, i.e. Stds. V to VII. The first two years' school work was done by me at home.

The first time I went to school was towards the end of 1907, when I was eight years old, and that only to sit for the annual examination of Std. I. There used to be an external examination in those days even for Primary school. That year, the Deputy Educational Inspector of Belgaum district, Shri V. B. Joshi, himself had come to the village to conduct the examination, instead of his assistants. Vinayak Babaji Joshi, although he spoke Marathi at home, was a distinguished scholar of Kannada and later used to be an examiner in Kannada for the M. A. examination of Bombay University. After he retired from Government service, he joined the Non-cooperation Movement and, as a result, lost his pension for some years until it was restored by the Bombay Congress Government in 1937. He was a man of culture as well as a patriot.

The Primary school examinations were occasions that aroused great public interest and even excitement in the village. The verandah of the school building used to be packed with important persons of the village, who came to see the officer who examined their children and at the same time to see how their children fared in the examination. It was, for the most part, an oral examination. A few examples in Arithmetic, and then a couple of oral tests on the same subject. After that, reading and recitation. A few questions in Geography, History and Grammar and the examination was over. For the lower classes, however, the examination consisted of reading, recitation and a few oral tests in Arithmetic. Since I had joined the school on the eve of the examination, I was the last boy in a class of about twenty children. Shri V. B. Joshi seemed, however, impressed by my answers and he asked the teacher why I was placed last in the class register. The teacher explained that I had been only recently admitted and that I had done all my schooling at home. As I was topping the list of successful pupils, Shri Joshi gave me a book as a prize. Curiously enough, the book happened to be a book in Arithmetic, written by the late Deputy Educational Inspector, Channabasappa, who had played such an important part, in the last quarter of the last century, in the development of education in the four Kannada districts of the old Bombay Presidency.

From then onwards, I attended the Primary school regularly for about four years. Life in school was interesting mainly for one extra-curricular activity, and that was to bring other children

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to the school. The school hours were 7 to 10 in the morning and 2 to 5 in the afternoon. The teachers being drowsy in the afternoon, the serious work was done only in the morning. Seven in the morning was a little too early for many children. Those of us who went to school on time, were required to wake up the others and bring them to school. The teachers were very strict, and for the slightest offence or breach of discipline, administered the severest possible corporal punishment. Even an insignificant offence called for two or three cane cuts on the palm. Every morning the habitual late-comers or offenders were tied hand and foot, and made to swing between two stools while they were given several cuts with a cane on almost any part of the body. This was the cruellest punishment I have ever seen. Often the boys who came in for such punishment were big bullies. They teased small children and, when their turn came for punishment like this, the smaller children flocked around to help tie them hand and foot and even pinched and struck them on their own account. This was the small children's notion of settling old scores. To their delight, the bully wriggled and howled with pain. All this was then perfectly legitimate according to the moral code of the school. The teacher had absolute powers and enjoyed using them. Never since duty been a greater source of pleasure !

At first, I was frightfully afraid of my teachers. But soon I got used to them and seldom came in for severe punishment. The two subjects that mattered most in our school were Arithmetic and Kannada (reading, recitation and writing). As I was good at both, I had little trouble, but there was an atmosphere of fear and awe all the same. We played games on our own outside school hours, but the teachers frowned on us if we were caught playing during school hours even though there was nothing doing inside the school at the time. The work to be done with the teacher was limited to about one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, for he had several other classes to cope with—not to speak of doing odd jobs including running a post-office. However, the teacher expected us to do our work ourselves when he was not attending to us.

The general impression was that a good memory was essential for successful schooling. No efforts were spared by the teacher to make his pupils commit everything to memory. Recitation of poetry was understandable, but I could not see the point of making us learn by heart rules of grammar, incidents in history, the names and lengths of rivers in Geography. The teacher was an old man, and since as top boy of the class I was nearest him, I could easily

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rattle off what the teacher wanted me to say by looking into the book in his hands! The other pupils did not have that advantage. The teachers were not the only persons who wanted me to learn by heart. My father insisted on my memorising songs and religious verses. One of my elder brothers, Veerabhadrappa, who was supposed to look after my studies at home, asked me one day to learn by heart a certain paragraph from a history book. Having glanced over it, I offered to reproduce the substance in my own words. But that would not do for him. He insisted that I should have everything pat before I could go out to play. My aunt, who was sitting near me, pleaded on my behalf, but my brother was adamant. I made two efforts to reproduce the stuff but failed at some points. So my brother asked me to 'go it' again. I meekly complied, but even the third time I failed. My brother was firm I must read it again more carefully until the words stuck in my memory. My patience had reached the breaking-point. I chucked the book at his face and ran out of the house before he could catch me. My aunt's sympathy was always on my side on such occasions, and he could, therefore, do nothing to me on my return home. As the youngest son, my father also treated me more kindly than he did my brothers. I was the only one in the family to have pocket money of my own: my father gave me one paisa (quarter of an anna) every week!

The Headmaster of the school, Ramachandra Katti, was a well-trained and able teacher. He was also kind to children, except on Ekadashi days, when he observed a fast. This made him pettish, and he would get angry on trifles; but the next day's feast mellowed him. He was the hungry Brahmin of the adage, who must be left in peace. This Headmaster had been continuously in our village for over ten years and was now getting old. The local people desired to have him transferred, partly at the instance of an assistant teacher in the same school, who had some influence in the village. In the fever of the resulting faction, we were neglected. The Headmaster became indifferent to his school work. At the same time, thanks to the tremendous influence he had with the district officers, he could not be transferred. On the other hand, until another Headmaster was posted, there was no hope of improving the state of affairs in the school. As he had discontinued the two top standards, after passing the Vth standard I did not know what to do. That was my first lesson in the harm that can be done to education by politics.

Plague broke out again, and so we were temporarily dislocated

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with the closure of the school in 1911. My brother Veerabhadrappa was at Gokak, reading in the English school which then taught up to Secondary Std. V (the present Std. VIII). Even there, plague used to break out, almost every year, for four months and school work was at a stand-still for the period. There was some arrangement made for his stay at Gokak, and the monthly school fee of Rs. 2 was paid by Father. Even this was too much for him, and he could not dream of sending me too to the same school. My eldest brother Sangappa had discontinued his education and taken a job as Accountant with a merchant at Rabkavi. So, in June 1912 I joined the English school at Rabkavi. In those days, the academic year extended from January to October, with about six weeks' summer vacation between the two terms. Such schools were mostly Anglo-Vernacular schools, and taught either the first three or the first five standards of Secondary school. The only difference between the first three standards of such schools and standards V—VII of Upper Primary schools was that the former taught English in addition to the other subjects and the latter did not. That is why they were popularly known as English schools. I had no difficulty in passing the annual examination of Std. I in this English school. In fact, I was first in the class. I remained in Rabkavi for a year and a half. This town was in the old Sangli State and, as in all other areas of 'princely India', the fees charged by the school were nominal, only two annas per month. There was in the town one Murigeyya Swami Bagoji, who used to carry on a small business in dyeing yarns. He had been educated up to the 'school final' stage in a Secondary school at Dharwar, and so was much interested in education. He had a good library of his own. He utilised his spare time in reading or in teaching boys of the local English school. Some boys stayed with him, and I was one of them. To enable me to pay the fee and have, over and above, a little pocket money, he arranged that a well-to-do family pay me one rupee a month in return for looking after their son (Mallappa Ghatnatti) who was also in my class. Shri Murigeyya Bagoji was an interesting person. He used to get up at five every morning and recite Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' from beginning to end before attending to other duties. After recitation, he went swimming in a well about a mile from the house. Another boy and I accompanied him all the year round to this well and enjoyed the swimming. In winter, it used to be frightfully cold, and with our scant clothing we shivered as we walked to the well. But we felt quite warm after a dip. This Swamiji did quite a lot of philanthropic work at Rabkavi, and quite a few boys owed their

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education to him.

The only incident I remember from my school days at Rabkavi is a little mischief I played, for which I came in for some trouble. As the first boy in the class, I enjoyed certain privileges. One of them was to bring the class register or the chalk and duster from a room next to our classroom, where the stationery and records were stored. The school was housed in the 'Shankarling' temple, and there was not much room. It was just sufficient for three classrooms and a store-room. Here was also the school clock. In order to get away from the school earlier, I used occasionally to advance the minute-hand by ten or fifteen minutes. This pleased the boys who came from far-off places like Banahatti and were naturally anxious to get home as early as possible. In those days, we all had a simple life, with only two meals—one in the morning and the other in the evening. Most of us were quite tired and hungry by five p.m. We had never heard of such a thing as afternoon tea or coffee! One day, accidentally, instead of turning the minute-hand, I turned the hour-hand, with the result that the clock showed a quarter to eight instead of quarter to five when the Headmaster went in to look at the time. The cat was out of the bag. Although no one else was allowed to go into that room, still, the Headmaster did not think that I had been up to such a trick. So he roared, "Who has tampered with the clock?" Nobody was prepared to believe that the top boy would do it. Neither the Headmaster nor the class-teacher was, therefore, prepared to deal with a situation like this. They were considerate enough not to give me corporal punishment, which I naturally expected. Instead, they reduced some of my marks for good behaviour, with the result that for one month I was fourth in the class instead of first. This did not worry me much; but after that incident, I would have nothing to do with the school clock!

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CHAPTER THREE :

adolescence

In 1914, my eldest brother left Rabkavi to take up a job at Gokak. So I came to Gokak and joined the first-grade Anglo-Vernacular school there in the 3rd Secondary Standard. I studied here for two years and a half and passed the Standard IV (Secondary) examination in April, 1916. To complete the two-year course, we had to spend two and a half years, as in 1914 the academic year changed. Instead of running from January to October, it was now to run from June to April. This new arrangement cost us all students, from the Primary to the University stage, six months of our life. Shri Panditappa Chickodi was the Headmaster of the school at Gokak and was its only graduate-teacher. He was so strict a disciplinarian that we used to tremble at the mere sight of him. He used to come down seriously upon everybody who did not do their home-work. Even the assistant teachers shivered in his presence. But he was interested in the welfare of his students, and many pupils of the school in his time owed their later success to the habits of industry and discipline which he inculcated in them at their most impressionable age. The other teachers were educated only up to the Matriculation or School Final. My class master was one Hari Dada Dixit. He taught well and encouraged pupils to work. Once, when asked what sort of a boy I was, he replied I was excellent. My English vocabulary at the time did not include the word 'excellent'. So I had to refer to the dictionary to find out its meaning. He had a particularly good opinion of pupils from Mamdapur, and said that Mamdapur boys invariably rose to important positions in later life. He was exceedingly fond of me, as I was about the only pupil who was good at Sanskrit in Std. IV. This language was the main hurdle of the Secondary and Higher education for many pupils in those days. Of course, candidates could take the School Final examination, for which a classical language was not necessary; but it was compulsory for the Matriculation examination of Bombay University. Few

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pupils could make up their minds at an early age whether they would proceed to the University or go in for a clerical job, for which the School Final was sufficient. As a result, most Hindus had to take Sanskrit from Std. IV onwards of Secondary school. Some, indeed, to avoid this hurdle, took Persian, finding it easier than Sanskrit. Of course, Parsees and Moslems almost invariably took Persian. The main difficulty about Sanskrit was its complicated grammar. To make matters worse, Sanskrit was taught in those days through the medium of English right from the beginning. Brahmin boys and girls would take to Sanskrit like duck to water, for, in the process of their training at home, they would have mastered hundreds of Sanskrit verses, which gave them a good background for a study of the language. Most of the pupils, specially those coming from villages, had, on the other hand, had no contact at all with Sanskrit in any form. We had to study twenty four lessons of Bhandarkar's Sanskrit book Part I in Std. IV, and on the very first page we were confronted by the division of verbs into Parasmaipada and Atmanepada. The meanings of the verbs were given in English, and with our imperfect knowledge of English, we often neither understood the Sanskrit word nor its English equivalent. The Rt. Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar, who was a great lover of Sanskrit, often cited the example of the word 'लुट्, लुटयति, to wallow," which occurred in lesson IV of Bhandarkar's book, to illustrate the absurdity of teaching Sanskrit through English. Sometimes, the teacher himself did not know the meaning of the English word "wallow", and we all wallowed in Sanskrit without knowing it. Then we were taught to decline nouns—masculine, feminine and neuter—stage by stage. I remember we had to learn to decline the word 'वन' as an example of the declension of a neuter word. It must have been at this stage that I asked the teacher two questions about the declension of nouns. "Why do we have the dual number in addition to singular and plural? Why is it not included in the plural as in other languages?" The other question was, why we had the vocative case even for inanimate objects like वन. We did not address forests and things like that except in a metaphorical sense. The teacher laughed heartily at my apparently silly questions, but all he said was, "My boy! Sanskrit is Sanskrit. One is not to question why. It is the sacred language of our ancestors. Moreover, if I knew the answers to your questions, I should have been a Sanskrit Professor and not a miserable teacher on fifteen rupees per month". That settled it. I realised then that there were many things which were inexplicable in the

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educational system of those days and one of them was the rationale of the inclusion in the curriculum of Sanskrit as a compulsory subject. Then I was not in a position to change the syllabus and other educational practices of those days. So I submitted to the situation and made the best of a bad job. I was determined to stand first in the class and master every subject including Sanskrit. It took quite a few days to master English words and phrases like 'penultimate', 'preceded by' and 'followed by', which occurred so frequently in the rules that explained the mysteries of Sanskrit grammar in English.

I was about the only pupil in a class of twenty five who had understood the first twenty four lessons of Bhandarkar's book. About sixty percent of the pupils in Secondary schools failed in the examination or discontinued their education, largely on account of Sanskrit and Bhandarkar's books in English. Our teacher, Shri Dixit, had, in the annual examination, set an unseen passage in Sanskrit and asked us to rewrite it without observing the *sandhi* rules. This was quite a testing question, and I had done it without a single mistake. I was actually at the top of the class in every subject, with more than seventy five percent of marks in the aggregate. This made me realise that there was not much competition in the School and that standing first in that school did not mean much. I should have liked to join Sardar's High School, Belgaum, which had then a good name under a British Headmaster, A.C. Millar, but I could not afford the expense. My brother, Veerabhadrappa, was already studying in the Government High School, Dharwar, and they could not afford to spend on me in addition.

At this time, I took a decision which was practically a turning-point in my life. I had heard of Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, and the great tradition of scholarship it had maintained. Many Karnatak students went to Rajaram College, which then taught up to the Intermediate class, and a few had even ventured to go to Kolhapur for Secondary education. I had heard that the Rajaram High School had four scholarships for the best four pupils of each standard. The value of the scholarship varied from four rupees per month in Std. V to five rupees per month in the higher classes. The only obstacle was the language. I did not know Marathi, but then I thought I could learn it in about six months and compete with Marathi boys even in that subject. My position was quite clear to me. I was too poor and might even have to give up education if I did not become, more or less, self-supporting. In Kolhapur, there was a boarding-house for Lingayat students. Although it

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was ordinarily meant for college students, they used to take quite a few select school-boys. Now, one of the college students who was there—M. C. Katti—suggested it might be possible to provide a free place for me in the boarding-house. He was quite sure I would be given at least a half free-studentship. With the possibility of getting also the school scholarship, I thought I should be more or less, self-supporting in Kolhapur. I thus prepared myself mentally to proceed to Kolhapur, but I had not yet consulted my eldest brother or my father about my plan. When I did, I told them I might require about five rupees per month at the initial stage, but that I hoped to be self-supporting later on. I had no clear idea how my scheme would actually work : it was just an adventure!

So I set out for Kolhapur in June, 1916 and was duly admitted to Rajaram High School. To start with, the Lingayat Boarding authorities gave me a half free-studentship as expected, and the school gave me a full free-studentship. Thus, the financial relief was not difficult to come by. In those days, Rajaram High School was partly housed in a palace and partly in an old building near it. Rajaram College was housed on the ground-floor of the palace, and classes VI and VII of the High School (i.e. the two top standards) were held on the first floor. The practice of the High School then was to divide the pupils into three classes, A, B and C. The A division had the cream—all pupils of exceptional ability, the B division consisted of pupils of moderate ability and the C division of ordinary pupils. The classification was made on the marks obtained in the previous examination. I was placed in the A division to start with, on the basis of my examination result at Gokak. Theoretically, the medium of instruction was English, but actually it was Marathi. All answers in the examination were to be written in English, but the explanation in the classroom was in Marathi. This was natural, as the boys were not expected to have mastered English well enough at that stage to follow their lessons in English. So, I found it difficult to understand what the teacher said in the class, particularly in History, Geography and Science. All instruction was geared to the requirements of the Matriculation examination of Bombay University. Since Marathi was not then a subject for this examination, nobody attended to it properly. The Headmaster told me that I should not bother about learning Marathi, and that I could take additional English in lieu of Marathi. In actual practice, it meant that I could ignore that paper altogether as everyone else did. This suited me excellently. The subjects that counted were English,

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Sanskrit, Mathematics and History, all subjects prescribed in those days for the Matriculation examination.

Rajaram High School enjoyed a great reputation. It had produced men of the stature of Justice Ranade and G. K. Gokhale, who were All-India leaders of high repute. In scholarship, it was one of the best in the Bombay Presidency, its students often topping the list of successful candidates in the Matriculation examination. The subjects in which the High School had maintained a great tradition of scholarship were Sanskrit and Mathematics. Its students often won the much-coveted Sunkersett scholarship by standing first in Sanskrit at the Matriculation examination, and in this respect there was keen competition between the Sangli High School and ours. The A division of Rajaram High School mainly consisted of Brahmin boys, for whom Sanskrit was child's play. I thought it was a formidable task for me to stand within the first four in the examination to win a scholarship, as everyone of my class of about thirty five was very intelligent. The spirit of competition made me work hard. I used to go to bed at 9-30 p.m. and get up at 4. a.m. I did Sanskrit mostly in the early hours. In addition to Bhandarkar's books, I had to study stories from *Ramayana*, a Sanskrit book written by our teacher himself—Shri Shrikhande. He was an exceptionally good teacher and taught us both Mathematics and Sanskrit, which he made very interesting. Another feature of the School was the system of weekly examinations. Every week we had a written examination in one subject with a printed question-paper. I do not think many schools attached so much importance to weekly examinations as ours. Within two months, I had appeared for six or seven weekly examinations and I knew where I stood in relation to the other pupils of my class. I was well within the first four in most subjects and thought I could win a scholarship in due course. This was what actually happened in the terminal examination. I stood third in my class, which really meant in all three classes, A, B and C put together, of Std. V. Headmaster Shrikhande was immensely pleased with my performance. He was very anxious to award me one of the four merit scholarships from the second term, but one of the rules came in my way. This rule stipulated that the scholarships were available only for those pupils who had attended the School for at least one year. I had been in the School only for four months. But the Headmaster was more anxious than myself that I should get one of the scholarships which I had won by merit. So he said to me, "There is a way out of the difficulty. I will suggest to the Government that this rule should not apply to you as you

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belong to the Backward classes." Although I was desperately in need of financial aid, I could not think of accepting a scholarship on the ground that I belonged to a backward community. It wounded my sense of pride and self-respect. So I said to the Headmaster, "It is very good of you, Sir, to try and award a scholarship to me. If the rules come in the way of my getting one, it cannot be helped. I do need financial assitance, but not as belonging to a backward community. I would never accept anything to which, by the rules, I am not entitled, merely on the ground of my caste or religion." It was a brave gesture on my part to save the family prestige ! This kind of pride is hereditary in our family, and poverty does not come into the picture at all, in any situation. The Headmaster, on hearing what I said, became even more sympathetic. He wrote to the Government that the rule in question was not in the interests of education and recommended that it should be deleted altogether. He quoted my case. The Kolhapur Durbar was pleased to cancel the rule and ordered the award of the scholarships purely in order of merit irrespective of length of attendance. This arrangement enabled me to get the scholarship in the second term of the academic year without loss of self-respect. When the Lingayat Boarding-house came to know of this, they were very pleased and immediately sanctioned me a free place. This meant that, instead of half, they paid for my board and lodging in full, which amounted to seven rupees per month in those days. This, added to a scholarship of four rupees per month, meant about two rupees pocket money after paying the school fee of two rupees per month. The School naturally did not sanction a scholarship and a free studentship together. So, within four months of ioining Rajaram High School, I was almost self-supporting, which was a great relief to my father, who had to bear the expenses of my second brother, Veerbhadrappa, then studying at Dharwar. However, my eldest brother sent me, now and then, sweets and other goodies by way of supplementing the food. So, I was able to complete my Secondary education fairly comfortably without being a burden to my family. But this was not the only advantage I had from going to Kolhapur instead of joining a school at Belgaum or Dharwar.

The keen competition among the pupils to win a scholarship every six months was a great boon to me. It made me work harder than I should have done otherwise. Actually, until I went to Kolhapur, I did not know the meaning of concentrated work, but took my studies lightly, as no hard work was required to stand first at Mamdapur, Rabkavi or Gokak. Here, I had to compete with

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Konkanastha or Karada Brahmin boys. So, I had to go beyond the textbooks in each subject. Specially in one subject, I had much leeway to make up if I would compete successfully with those boys. That subject was Sanskrit. So, I read widely in Sanskrit literature. I began with the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesha* and went through the first fourteen *sargas* of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*. I could recite all the verses of canto II of *Raghuvamsha*, which our Sanskrit teacher had made us learn by heart. I also read the abridged edition of Bana's *Kadambari* and could translate even difficult passages from classical works like *Dashakumaracharita* into English. Translation of English passages into Sanskrit was, however, a different story. My Sanskrit was at the most grammatical enough, but there were boys in my class who could render English verse into Sanskrit verse in a matter of a few minutes. Some of them were Shastris and had had grounding in Sanskrit for years. But Sanskrit grammar was a more reliable subject. If one could conjugate the regular and irregular verbs and decline the nouns, full marks were assured. In those days, no textbook was prescribed for the Matriculation examination in Sanskrit. Unseen passages were set for translation from Sanskrit into English and vice versa, while forty marks were reserved for grammar. There were pupils who could score ninety five marks out of hundred. Sanskrit is now taught in a more interesting manner, often with a prescribed textbook. It has also become an optional subject and many students need not now study it at all.

Rajaram High School made no secret of the fact that its *raison d'etre* was turning out as many matriculates, and with as high a percentage of marks, as possible. All efforts were directed towards that end in Stds. VI and VII. Corporate activities were conspicuous by their absence, except on two days in the year. One was the social gathering, and the other was the annual prize-giving. On the social gathering day we had a common dinner, pupils and teachers together; and at the prize-giving, the Principal of the Rajaram College, Rev. A. Darby, addressed the students and Mrs. Darby gave away the prizes. They hardly invited outsiders as chief guests. Prizes were given to boys who stood first in each subject, on the aggregate marks obtained in the terminal and annual examinations. I received two such prizes, for two consecutive years, in English. During my third year, owing to some change in the administration, there was no prize-giving. In subjects like Sanskrit, Mathematics and Science, other pupils carried away the prizes. Games were played by boys on their own, without supervision or coaching and without much encouragement from the School authorities. Since I

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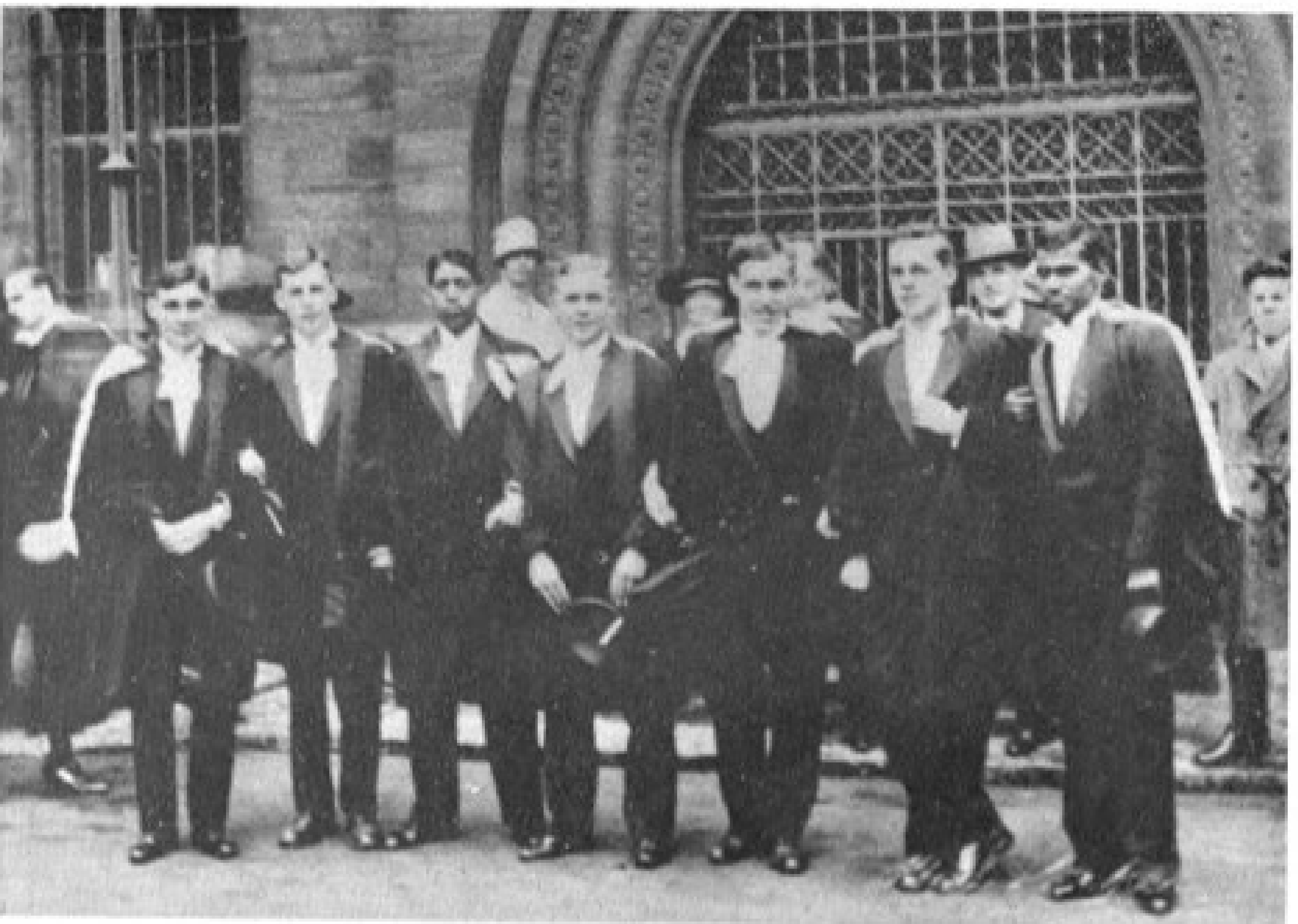

At Cambridge
(From right to left,) D. C. Pavate, R. G. D. Allen, G. J. Nash and Ram Behari (fifth from right)

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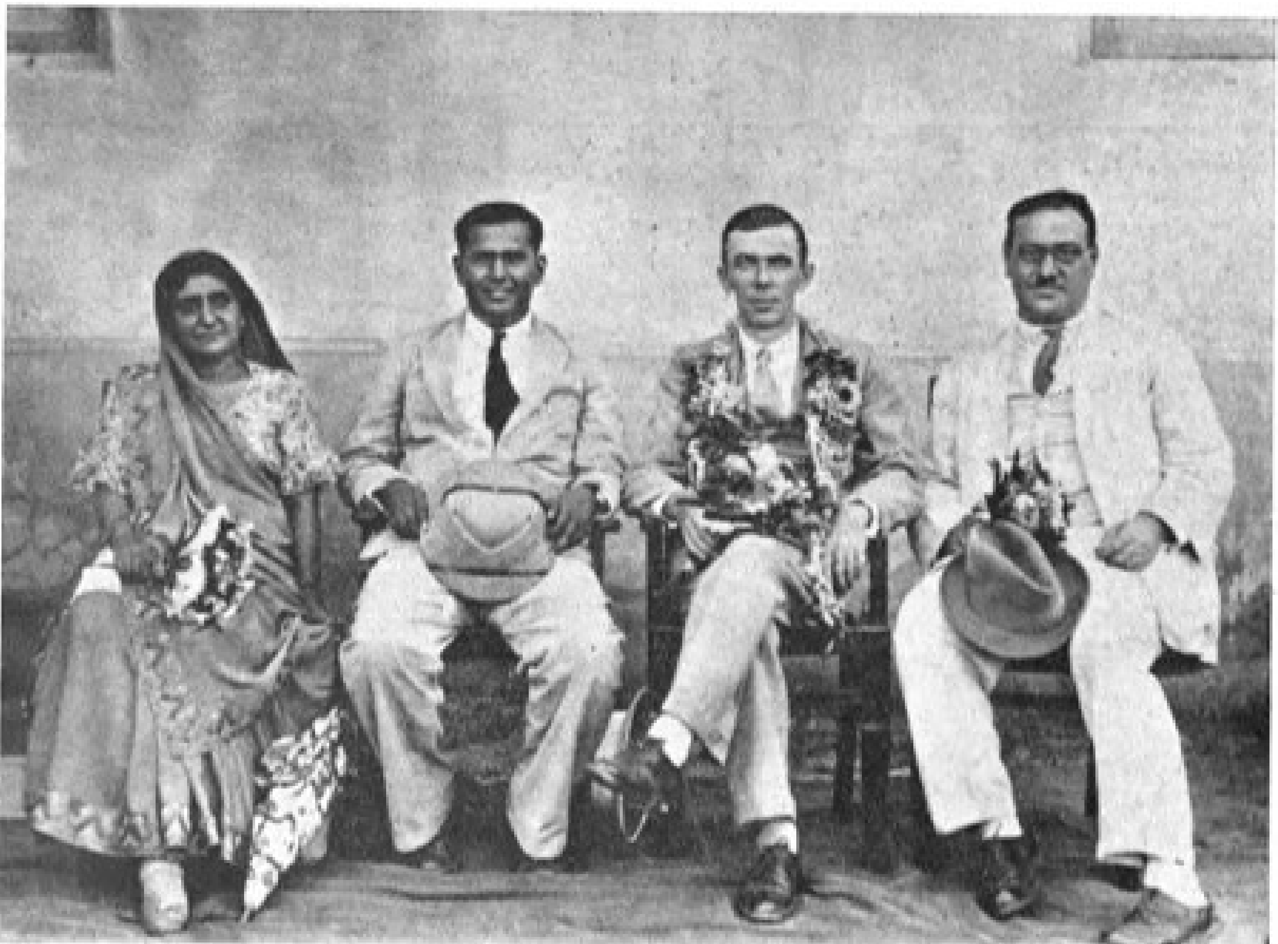

Educational Week, Boardi
Left to right; Miss Rustomjee, the author
Mr. H. V. Hamption, Dr. Kaji

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walked three miles each way to the School and back, I could do well without games. Cricket, hockey and football were the popular games. Nobody bothered about Indian games then. The classroom work was naturally coloured by the requirements of the Matriculation examination. As Science, Geography and Marathi were not Matriculation subjects, nobody paid much attention to them in the top class. In the earlier classes, however, we had to study them seriously, as they counted for purposes of scholarship and promotions. The Education Department of the Bombay Government used to draw up a good syllabus for Seco lary schools; on the other hand, the Bombay University prescribed the syllabus for its own Matriculation examination. There was no coordination between the Education Department and the University, and since the Matriculation dominated the work in the Secondary schools, this lack of coordination had disastrous effects on education as a whole. The teachers who happened to teach such subjects had no qualifications of any kind to teach them. I remember, one fresh graduate was asked to teach History and Geography in Std. VI. He had taken History for his B.A. Honours, and since History and Geography were, according to the school authorities, allied subjects, they thought one could teach both. In the first term, we had to learn by heart a string of names of rivers, towns, etc. and the teacher had a smooth time, but in the second term we had to have something of physical Geography—the weather, volcanoes and the like. The poor teacher had to face a volcanic eruption in the class! He just read Marsden's Geography line by line and we listened to him. At one stage, it said that, as we go higher and higher above the earth's surface, it becomes cooler and cooler. Now, there were plenty of mischievous boys in the class, and one boy named Patwardhan, who gave enough trouble to all teachers, stood up and said, "Well Sir, why should it get cooler and cooler as we go higher and higher? Actually, when we go higher and higher away from the surface of the earth, we should be nearer and nearer to the sun, which means it should get hotter and hotter. Why does the book say it will be cooler and cooler?" The teacher was non-pulsed but was honest enough to confess his ignorance. "You see," he pleaded, "I am not trained in Geography at all. I took History for my Honours course, which is not quite the same thing." Actually, nobody was interested in Geography. So we gracefully dropped the matter.

There was a teacher named Khadilkar, who was an M.A. in History. His great ambition was to teach in the College. But he forestalled matters and actually lectured to us. We were his guinea-

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pigs. Whether we followed him or not, did not worry him in the least. He never asked a single question during his period. He just rattled off the portion he wanted to cover and strutted out of the class, as became a prospective Professor. He lectured on History in English once a week and twice in Marathi. Fortunately for me, he was not interested in finding out who was asleep in his class! Although he did not know the art and purpose of teaching in Secondary schools, he showed great foresight and originality in the matter of examinations. In History, the questions that were usually set were of the type, "Describe the main events during the reign of....", or "What led to the downfall of...." The answers to these questions were found in our text, and it was more or less an exercise in memory. But our teacher would not ask such questions. He would give some statements and ask us to justify them. The answers were not found in our book. They required a proper understanding of historical facts and their causes and effects. This was a great improvement on the old routine type of questions based on memory.

I was about nineteen years old when I passed the VIth (Seondary) standard examination and was anxious to work hard to do well in the following year at the Matriculation examination. During the summer vacation of that year, my marriage was arranged without any sort of notice by my elders to me. There was, however, one redeeming feature of the marriage. The girl I was proposed to marry, Girija Naik, was only eight years old. So the marriage would not interrupt my studies in any case. The reason for this sudden development was that according to our custom, the youngest son should be married along with the last but one. Since my brother Veerabhadrappa was to be married that year I had to keep him company. Age and preparedness were no consideration. Also, the question of the groom's approval of the girl or the girl's approval of the groom did not arise at all. Why, it was unthinkable! The marriage of young people was a sort of religious ceremony and that was wholly the concern of the elders in those days. Father was always a strict man and there was no question of my rebelling against his decision. In any case, nobody would have heeded my protests and I meekly submitted to the decision taken. The girl, of course, had no idea of what it was all about, as she was too young. After a long experience of a happy married life, I can say now that such marriages brought about by the elders are most likely to turn out to be successful and happy.

Rajaram High School, as we have seen, set high store by

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Sanskrit and Mathematics. The teachers not only taught them as living subjects but created an abiding interest in them in their pupils. The standard aimed at was considerably higher than what was expected. In all my life, I have never seen a Mathematics teacher of the calibre of Shri Bhargavarao Kulkarni. He was a graduate in Science. The great reputation he enjoyed as a teacher was not due to his superior knowledge of Mathematics and Physics, but simply to his teaching techniques. He was not trained professionally in the way our Secondary teachers are now trained. Yet, he practised most of the educational principles and methods of teaching inculcated in our training colleges. First of all, he stuck to the chair and never budged from that safe position. Calling one of the boys to the blackboard, he asked him to write down an example or theorem. He would then call another boy and ask him to write down the next step and, at the same time, ask interesting questions to find out why it was necessary. The whole thing was done like this, the boys themselves doing it without looking into the book. Thus, several boys were made to participate in the lesson and nobody could go to sleep in his class. In fact, the whole class was electrified. When the boys were not able to explain the next step in the solution of a geometrical rider, his favourite remark was "तुम्हाला समजल सारख वाटत पण समजल नाही", which meant, "You feel as if you have understood it, but actually you haven't." The assumption he made was that, if anybody understood a mathematical theorem, he should be able to apply it and solve any problems or riders based on it. He had a knack, too, of making difficult problems look ridiculously easy. He was certainly an inspiring teacher and knew modern methods of teaching without going to a Teachers' College. He was a born teacher. We all benefited from his teaching and every one of us had nothing but praise for him.

I remained in Kolhapur for three years. At the end of that period, in March 1919, I appeared for the Matriculation examination at Dharwar and stood first in the centre. There used to be then about five thousand candidates for the School Leaving Examination, spread over five centres, viz. Dharwar, Poona, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi. The examiners, also, used to be strict and, of course, inaccessible. Of these five thousand candidates, about two thousand passed. Although Rajaram High School had carried the Sunkersett prize in Sanskrit in the past, we did not win that distinction in 1919. But V. R. Vajramushti, who was generally the first scholar in my class, stood second in the whole examination with a score of about seventy two percent in the aggregate. I used to be next to him in the class and

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obtained about sixty six percent. Vajramushti had a distinguished career and later obtained a degree in Electrical Engineering of London University. He retired, after meritorious service, as Railway Engineer of the Government of India. Many other classmates of mine in the High School distinguished themselves in life as lawyers, doctors, businesmen and government officials.

One great benefit derived by me from my High school education at Kolhapur was that I developed such qualities as initiative, self-reliance and self-confidence. As I could hardly understand Marathi, I had to depend on myself, besides the little I could follow in the class. All education is, after all, self-education. Also, the spirit of competition aroused by the four scholarships awarded to the best boys of each standard, made me work hard. That I was able to beat the boys coming from highly cultured families in spite of the handicap of Marathi as the medium of instruction, has stood me in good stead in my later life. These advantages would have been denied to me had I joined a Secondary school in the Karnatak area. Poverty too, it would seem, has its blessings !

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CHAPTER FOUR :

the Karnatak college

There was an Intermediate College at Kolhapur where I could easily have continued my education with the scholarship which I was sure to get. However, a new Government College had been started in 1917 at Dharwar to meet the cultural aspirations of the people in the Karnatak region, and my brother Veerabhadrappa was already reading there for the Intermediate Arts. So I was attracted to that college, as the few colleges run by the Government of Bombay were at that time generally well-staffed and well-managed. The main reason for this belief was the fact that there used to be at least two British officers in a Government College, and that all members of the teaching staff were generally better paid than their counterparts in the others. On the other hand, the management of Rajaram College, Kolhapur, had just been handed over to the Arya Samaj and I was not sure what kind of staff they would appoint. Accordingly, I joined Karnatak College on 20th June 1919, for the First Year Course. Since I had stood first in the Dharwar centre at the Matriculation examination, I was automatically first scholar in my class.

Karnatak College was then an Intermediate College, teaching only the Arts course, and, as it had no building of its own, was housed in the Training College for men. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, of the Indian Education Service, was its first Principal, and the teaching staff was very good, having regard to the fact that it was only an Intermediate College. The First Year Course (then known as Previous Course) consisted of English (two papers), Mathematics (two papers), Physics (one paper) and a Classical language (one paper). All these subjects were compulsory for students of both Arts and Science. The Intermediate Arts Course also comprised four subjects : English, Mathematics (or Logic), Indian History and Administration, and a Classical language. For the Moslem students, generally Persian was the Classical language, while for us it was Sanskrit. So, all that a college needed was three lecture-halls, a small laboratory, an office room and a small library. These needs were just met by the building

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spared by the Primary Training College, and, except the Principal, no teacher had a room to himself. They used to come, lecture and go away. There was no hostel either. A small bungalow was hired near the Gymkhana Club, which accommodated about ten students. Shri A. B. Gajendragadkar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, was the superintendent of the hostel. At that time, the Lingayats were the most orthodox of all communities and would not join the common hall. Most of the students had made their own arrangements for board and lodging. They used to have their food in a local hotel and live in some rented room. We had organised our own small club of Belgaum Lingayat students, who were mostly from Gokak taluka. The organisation of such a club was the responsibility of my brother, who was good at such things. Even so, the arrangement was not satisfactory, specially during the rains, as we had to walk a distance of about two miles to the College. The next year, the hostel now known as the Karnatak Liberal Hostel, was opened by Government. It is now cosmopolitan in character, but in my time it was meant for two communities, viz., Saraswats and Lingayats, with separate messing arrangements.

Just as I was first scholar in the First Y[illegible]class, D. P. Karmarkar was the first scholar in the Intermediate class. He became, later on, a Minister of the Government of India. There were many bright students in the College then. Another student who distinguished himself later on in life was P. B. Gajendragadkar, who became eventually Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Principal Rawlinson was very kind to all his students, particularly to the scholars. The number of students in the Intermediate class was not more than fifty and in the First Year about hundred and twenty. After passing the First Year college examination, students used to go to Poona or Bombay for the Inter-Science or Inter-Commerce course. Quite a few students of the First Year class used to fail or discontinue their studies, so that the number of students in the Intermediate Arts was then comparatively very small.

The teachers who were most popular were Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar and Prof. C. P. Saldanha. The former taught Sanskrit and the latter, Mathematics. English was taught by the Principal himself. The Sanskrit Professor had a knack of making Sanskrit very interesting. Although in the First Year we had to read *Nagananda*—a drama—and a part of the *Mahabharata* as prescribed text books, Prof. Gajendragadkar made us read the first canto of *Kiratarjuneyam*. We enjoyed reading the latter more than the text-books prescribed by the University. I still remember a few verses of

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Kiratarjuneyam. Similarly, Prof. Saldanha made the study of Mathematics very interesting. We had then only three subjects to study in Mathematics—Algebra up to the Binomial Theorem, Pure Geometry, and Elementary Trigonometry. Prof. T. K. Deolalkar, who taught us Physics, remained a well-known figure-and something of a character-in Dharwar for about thirty years.

The College Gymkhana used to be very active. Some students spent almost all their time in games and matches. Tennis was the most popular game.

The First Year examination was held by the College towards the end of February 1920 and I stood first in the First Class with ease. In fact, throughout my College career at Dharwar, I stood first in the College and maintained myself with the College scholarship. In the Intermediate Class, the difference in the total between me and the second scholar was about 200 marks, so that Principal Rawlinson gave me two scholarships instead of one, of the value of fifteen rupees per month each. In those days, Principals in Government Colleges were all-powerful and could do such things. In addition, the Sirsangi Trust had sanctioned me a scholarship of the value of fifteen rupees per month so that with forty five rupees per month I was quite well off. Indeed, I was able to save about ten rupees per month from my scholarships for my brother Veerabhadrappa, who had by then joined the Agricultural College, Poona.

The Bombay Government intended to have the Karnatak College building on the Chhota-Mahabaleshwar hill—the present campus of the Karnatak University. Indeed, the foundation-stone of the College building was laid by the then Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd, in July 1919. The Governor was an efficient administrator and believed in carrying out any project without loss of time. It was he who mooted the proposal for reclaiming the area on the sea-front between Charni Road and Churchgate Station in Bombay. At that time, the public was very critical about the prospect. I do not think there is any critic now; for, anybody who visits the Marine Drive and sees the imposing buildings standing on the reclaimed area, easily appreciates the good job done by Sir George Lloyd.

The proposed Karnatak College buildings on Chhota-Mahabaleshwar would have taken at least three years to be ready for occupation. A dynamic person like Sir George Lloyd did not want to wait that long. He came to know that the M. S. M. Railway headquarters were going to be shifted from Dharwar to Madras. So he immediately started negotiations for their purchase with a view to their conversion

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into Karnatak College. As a result of these efforts, the M. S. M. Railway office building at Dharwar, with grounds round it of about seventy five acres, was taken over by the Education Department of the then Government of Bombay and turned into the Karnatak College building in June 1920. Since then, many other buildings have been added to the College, but the old Railway office building still remains intact, with such renovation and alterations as were made in 1920.

When we shifted to the Railway building in June 1920, I was in the Intermediate Arts class. Many new appointments were made to meet the requirements of a full-fledged Arts College. Of the new arrivals, H. V. Hampton, Professor of Philosophy and English, S. G. Beri, Professor of Economics and A.D. Dhopeshwarkar, Professor of Philosophy and Administration, were the most important. They dominated the scene at Karnatak College for a number of years. In fact, Prof. Dhopeshwarkar had all his service at Dharwar. N. S. Takhakav was Professor of English. In Mathematics, we had, in addition to Prof. Charles Saldanha, two Lecturers, T. M. Patil and B. B. Bagi. A great loss to the College was the transfer of Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar to Elphinstone College, Bombay, when Karnatak College had become a full-fledged college. His place was taken by V. G. Bhat. Most of the Indian members of the teaching staff came from Maharashtra and did not know a word of Kannada. Even more curious, Kannada was not yet taught as a subject. Bombay University did not consider any of the regional languages as deserving of that status. The position in England was very much the same. Oxford and Cambridge had just introduced English as a subject for their degree examinations. Apart from T. M. Patil and B. B. Bagi, who were Kannada people, G. B. Jathar, Professor of Economics, was a Dharwar man and knew Kannada; but he spoke Marathi at home and refused to speak in any language other than English with his students.

In July 1920, Sir George Lloyd again visited Dharwar for the inauguration of the first-grade College in the new building. It was a great occasion in the history of the College. The people of Karnatak saw in it a portent of a separate university for the Karnatak region. The two leaders of Dharwar at that time, Diwan Bahadur Shantaveerappa Mensinkai and Diwan Bahadur S. K. Rodda, spoke on the occasion, on hehalf of the Kannada-speaking people of the Bombay Presidency, in appreciation of the Governor's efforts in upgrading the College without much loss of time.

To understand that the starting of a College at Dharwar was an important milestone in the cultural history of Karnatak, one

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should realise that, including Karnatak College, there were then only ten Colleges leading to the B.A. degree in the entire Bombay Presidency. The people swelled with pride that they had at long last a college of their own. Principal Rawlinson explained, as usual on such occasions, the aims and objects of higher education in India. Sir George Lloyd hoped that the College would turn out worthy leaders. Next day, the Governor went round the College ; when he came to my class, Prof. S.G. Bhadkamkar was lecturing on Sanskrit. I was on one of the front benches, and the Principal brought the Governor straight to me and introduced me to him in highly eulogistic terms : I was the first scholar and one of the most promising students he had ever met. That was just like Principal Rawlinson. He was very fond of his students and would describe his good students always in superlative terms. I felt extremely shy and was far from happy at these embarrassing compliments. The Governor asked me what I proposed to do in life. The National Movement was then in full swing, and I promptly replied that I wanted to serve my country. "And how do you propose to serve your country," he asked. This was a poser, and I had never given a moment's thought to what I proposed to do in later life. But some sort of reply was called for, so I said, "By educating the people." I hardly knew then what I really meant by it. He smiled, shook hands with me wishing me good luck, and left. The poor Lecturer was not taken the slightest notice of, either by the Principal or by the Governor, and one can easily imagine his feelings. All he said to me later was, "It was a difficult question the Governor asked you."

Actually, I did not yet have any idea what subject I should take for my B.A. (Hons). A scholarship in those days meant all-round proficiency, and since I stood first in almost all subjects, I felt I could take any subject. Actually, the decision to take Mathematics was the result of my standing first in that subject in the whole University at the Intermediate examination. The Mathematics staff consisted, however, of people without much experience of advanced Mathematics. Prof. Saldanha was the Head of the Department, but he was not really a Mathematician ; his qualifications were in Physics. He had obtained a first in Physics at the M.A. examination of Bombay University and his training in Mathematics was limited to the B.A. subsidiary level. He was, however, an extremely good and inspiring teacher for the lower classes, but it was doubtful whether he would be able to cope with the B.A. Honours course. The others had just begun their career. But I had no mind to leave Dharwar. The staff in English, History, Economics and Philosophy was excellent. Professor C.J. Sisson was a well-known Shakespearean scholar and taught us

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Macbeth and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in a most inspiring manner. He had come to Dharwar on promotion as Principal in the leave vacancy of Mr. H.G. Rawlinson for one year. Prof. H.V. Hampton taught us De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* and Browning's *Pippa Passes*. Even in those days, there were writers of notes and guides on English, and Mr. Hampton used to come to the class with notes written by some Bengali Professor on *Pippa Passes*. Apparently, there was some difficult passage which Mr. Hampton could not make out. So he looked at the notes and found that the obscure passage had been completely ignored. Mr. Hampton then said to the class, "These notes-writers explain at considerable length simple passages, but the real difficult ones are skipped." He was an able Professor of Philosophy, too. One of his students asked him the answer to a particular question set at the B.A. examination. He said, "Who is the idiot that has set this question? It is nonsense." In those days, Bombay University used to print the names of the paper-setters (who were also examiners) at the top of the question-paper. The students pointed to the names and one of them was Mr. Hampton himself! He was perhaps the most popular teacher of English in the College. He might not have been a great scholar of English like Prof. Sisson, but he had the knack of making his lectures interesting by his lively sense of humour. We used to submit our English essays to him every fortnight, and, when returning them, he invariably said, "Take back these valuable manuscripts which posterity would not willingly let die."

For my B.A. (Hons) I had three papers in English and eight papers in Mathematics. The marks in English did not count for a Class, but it was necessary to obtain at least a Pass. This was a good arrangement, for, when I wanted a change from Mathematics, I read the Compulsory English texts. The Mathematics teachers—Charles Saldanha, B.B. Bagi and T.M. Patil,—were greatly interested in me and worked very hard. In those days, all Professors paid very great personal attention to their students of the Degree classes and seemed more anxious than the students themselves to obtain satisfactory results. Moreover, ours was a new College which had yet to establish its reputation. Thus, there was great competition among the Professors. When I obtained a First Class at the B.A. (Honours) examination in 1923, it was a great day for the whole College, for I was the first student of the College to obtain a First Class in a University examination. In those days, the number of First Class students used to be very small and, in fact, I was the only one to obtain a First Class in Mathematics in the entire University that year. This naturally reflected great credit upon Prof. Saldanha's ability as a teacher of

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Mathematics.

Principal Rawlinson was very happy at my success. But he was soon transferred to Deccan College, Poona, and Mr. Hampton became Principal with effect from June 1923. I was awarded a Daxina Fellowship of Rs. 50 p.m. This was considered a great honour because of the historical importance of the Daxina Fellowships. Before the British established their rule, a certain amount of money used to be set apart by the Peshwas for distribution among great Sanskrit Pandits every year on a competitive basis; but when the British took over, they utilized a part of that amount for award of fellowships in Government Colleges and some three private colleges, on the basis of the B.A. results.

Until I passed my B.A. examination I had no idea of the profession I should choose. Most students joined some Government office as clerks, while a few more enterprising ones went in for Law. Dharwar was such a small place that we could not think of any other career. Of course, there was the I.C.S. competitive examination, but there was an age limit. Since I was already 24 when I passed my B.A. examination there was no question of my competing for the Civil Service. Age was a handicap for poor students coming from the countryside; but I had no regrets, as I had by then developed a great interest in Mathematics. I had heard of Cambridge Wranglers. In fact, who had not heard the name of Dr. R.P. Paranjpe of the Fergusson College in the Bombay Presidency? So I set my heart on going to Cambridge for further studies in Mathematics. The Bombay university had then a Foreign Universities Bureau which sent applications, through the High Commissioner for India, to the various universities in Great Britain. So I sent one to Cambridge University through the Bureau.

The problem of finding funds for my education in England needed to be solved before my plan to go to Cambridge was finalised. There were a few Educational Associations in Bombay which used to finance students on such projects at 2% interest. Meantime, the Lingayat community of Karnatak got excited about my success. The Sirsangi Trust had, in those days, an annual income of about Rs. 50,000 and used to award scholarships to Lingayat students in colleges. They offered me a scholarship of Rs. 400 p.m. at Cambridge. The Karnatak Lingayat Education Society had already started at Belgaum a Secondary school known as Gilganchi Artal High School in honour of the two leaders of the Lingayat community who had done much for the spread of education among Lingayats. This school had come into being only 8 years before, but then the K.L.E. Society, following the example of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, was

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ambitious enough to start a college at Belgaum in course of time. Some of the teachers of the G.A. High School, therefore, proposed that on my return I join their Society if they succeeded in starting a College by then. The early life-members of the Society were actuated by a certain degree of idealism and were anxious to raise the more backward communities from their miserable condition. So the proposal fascinated me a good deal, and I readily agreed to serve as a life member of the Society on my return.

As Fellow of the College I had no work at all. Nor were there facilities for advanced work in my subject. Prof. Saldanha, however, advised me to read on my own. On the whole, it was a year of rest. By way of recreation, I taught Mathematics for one hour a day as honorary teacher in the R. L. S. High School, Dharwar, which had just been started by the K. L. E. Society. I enjoyed the teaching, and got on very well with the boys.

In the second term of 1923-24, Principal Hampton proceeded on leave and Mr. H. Hamill was posted as Principal. He was a tough ex-soldier. He had seen active military service in the World War and been in various campaigns. After the war was over, he was to choose any career he liked. Most such men chose the I. C. S. ; but Mr. Hamill, whose education at Belfast had been interrupted by the war, was interested in a career in education. He was, therefore, given an appointment in the Indian Education Service ; but since he was not yet qualified, he took a degree in English of London University after joining the I. E. S. Messrs Hampton and Hamill—both Irishmen—later became my colleagues in the Education Department and I had quite a few brushes with them. Mr. Hamill wanted to give me some teaching work as he thought I was getting Rs. 50 p.m. for nothing. While I was on vacation during the Christmas holidays, he sent me a telegram at my home address to attend duties in the College from 5th January, 1924, when the College would reopen. I did not know what duties I had to perform. The Daxina Fellowship had so far meant just a 'daxina', i.e. a free and unconditional gift of money. When I returned to Dharwar, he said, "The Physics Demonstrator, Mr. N. R. Tawde, is on leave for two months. Please serve as Demonstrator during his absence." It did not occur to him that Physics and Mathematics were different subjects. Since I had done Physics in my First Year, I thought I should have no difficulty in explaining to the students the various experiments they were required to perform, and made up my mind to do my best. One day, as I was explaining an experiment, Mr. Hamill came and stood behind me without my noticing him. Apparently, he was satisfied with my work ; for his

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knowledge of Physics would not have been much better than mine. Whether the students were satisfied was a different matter altogether. Mr. Hamill came to have a great regard for me, and later we came into close contact with each other over several years in connection with Departmental as well as University affairs. In January 1924, I received an intimation from the High Commissioner for India that I was admitted to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. The Sirasangi Trust had sanctioned a scholarship of Rs. 400 p.m. on condition that I return the amount at 10°/ₒ of my pay or accept a job under the K. L. E. Society. I was quite agreeable to the proposal. The officer in charge of the Sirasangi Trust, however, happened to be an old servant of the Revenue Department and, by sheer force of habit, used to send all communications to me in respect of my scholarship through the Principal of the College. Now, Mr. Hamill objected to my binding myself to serve the Society on my return. A college at Belgaum would be a blow to Karnatak College, which was just getting on its feet. He said that I should be left free to do anything I liked. He came on the scene simply because the agreement was sent to me through him when there was no reason at all why it should have been sent to the College. A small but quite unnecessary controversy developed on the agreement. Mr. Hampton returned in June 1924, and he had no qualms about it at all. So the agreement was signed; but Mr. Hampton, noticing that there was a condition in the agreement that I should not change my religion during my stay in England, said with a smile, "This only means you should not marry in England. You are free to do anything else you like." I replied that fortunately I was already married and perfectly insured on that side.

I got all the preliminaries settled and held myself in readiness to set sail for England towards the end of August 1924. The first term at Cambridge commences round about 10th October, and the voyage in those days took about 15 days. It was, therefore, not necessary for me to start so early. Even so, having nothing to do here either, I thought I should go a little earlier and get accustomed to the British way of living. In those days, the departure of a student for any foreign country was an event of great excitement not only for himself but also for his friends. The students of the Karnatak College, particularly the members of the Karnatak Liberal Club of which I had been a member since its inception, were as excited as I was myself. A number of meetings were organised in my honour at which one of the Professors used to preside. Each meeting was a new ordeal for me, for at each I was required to speak. And what on earth could I speak at each of these meetings without repeating

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myself? The strength of the College was about 250, and there were about 15 Professors and Lecturers. At the meeting organised by the College, Principal Hampton presided. I spoke on the occasion about the nice and enjoyable life I had for 5 years at the College, the courtesy and friendship shown to me by all students of the College, and finally about what I owed to my Professors, particularly to Prof. Charles Saldanha and Prof. B.B. Bagi. I was, doubtless, popular with my fellow-students, and I still remember the token of their affection they gave me on the eve of my departure, in the form of a costly gold watch. Many of them even took the trouble of seeing me off in Bombay.

To travel to England by sea during the monsoon is a great ordeal. Fortunately, there was another passenger, Mr. A.V. Angadi, from my part of the country, who was of great help to me on the voyage. The P.&O. steamer left Bombay at 1 p.m. I was sea-sick immediately after the ship left the harbour and was confined to bed for 5 days until we reached Aden. The Red Sea and the Mediterranean were all right and I had an enjoyable time on board the ship. There were many Indian students with whom I naturally made friends. Among them was S.S. Bhandarkar who had also passed the B.A. (Hons) examination of Bombay University and was to join London University for a course of studies in English. We travelled by land through France from Marseilles to Calais. Then again, the short crossing from Calais to Dover was nasty as the Channel was rough. I just lay flat on the deck for one hour ; but there was hardly any other passenger who was not sea-sick.

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CHAPTER FIVE :

three years at Cambridge

When I went into residence at Cambridge, there were 12 Colleges which federated into the University. Two more Colleges have been established since. The relationship between the Cambridge University and the Cambridge Colleges is so close that it is impossible to think of the one without the other. Ordinarily, it is not possible to be a member of the University without being a member of one of the constituent Colleges. Even so, each College, to all intents and purposes, is a self-governing institution. Broadly speaking, the undergraduate teaching is done by the Fellows and Lecturers of Colleges, while advanced work is done by the University Professors and Readers. The Colleges are, for the most part, near one another. Women have separate Colleges, at some distance from the men's, and there were two of them in my time. One more women's College has since been established. Such was the prejudice against the higher education of women even in my time that, although they were allowed to attend lectures and take the examinations, they were not awarded degrees. They were awarded only titles of degrees. Things have changed since then. The great thing about Cambridge University is its Honours course. The B. A. Honours Examinations are known as the Tripos Examinations and it is these examinations which, at least in Science subjects, are of an exceptionally high standard. The Tripos Degree practically eclipses all other degrees awarded at Cambridge, and it is to this degree that Science, Mathematics and Economics scholars from different countries, particularly in the Commonwealth, are attracted. The students of the Honours classes are made to work hard and are brought to the farthest boundary of the available knowledge in their branch of a subject. After taking First Class Honours, a few students stay on for research, while others take up teaching appointments anywhere in the Commonwealth. A student who obtains First Class Honours in Mathematics is, for some reason, called a 'Wrangler'. Formerly, the student who topped the list of Wranglers was known as 'Senior Wrangler' and generally considered the

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brainiest candidate of the year. To avoid excessive competition, the University authorities no longer show the exact position in the list of successful candidates, nor give them the marks obtained in the examination. They are simply divided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes. Certain Tripos examinations are divided into parts or sections, while others are undivided. The Tripos, particularly in Mathematics, was made very popular in the old Bombay Presidency by Dr. R.P. Paranjpe who became Senior Wrangler towards the end of the last century.

The head of a College at Cambridge is known as 'Master'. The next officer in importance is the Tutor, who advises the pupils on their studies as well as on every problem arising out of college and University life on which they may need advice. Each College provides residential accommodation to the students for the most part in the college itself; for those students who cannot be accommodated in the College, licensed lodgings are taken. The Tutor is responsible for allocating rooms in the College as well as for providing licensed lodgings in the town. For purposes of discipline, students are subject to the same regulations, whether they are resident in college or in private lodgings. One feature of Cambridge life—may be of other Universities too in Great Britain—is that the College authorities are extremely polite, helpful and kind to their students. At the same time, they are very strict in making admissions, though, once the students are admitted to the College, they are treated as 'gentlemen.' This is possible because the colleges deliberately restrict the number of admissions. My own College—Sidney Sussex—restricted the number of students to 180 spread over three years, so that it had only about 60 freshmen each year. The whole Cambridge University had, in my days, a student population of 5000 distributed among the 21 Colleges, representing all disciplines including Agriculture, Medicine, Law and Engineering.

The first term, known as Michaelmas term, commences usually on 10th October. I had arrived in London towards the middle of September 1924 and naturally had had enough of doing nothing except sight-seeing. The Tutor had written regarding my admission, and so I asked him whether I could get into residence from 1st October instead of from the 10th. Since I was to live in a licensed lodging during my first year, the Tutor, Mr. T. Knox-Shaw, allowed me to go to Cambridge a little before the commencement of the term. The Master also wrote me a kind letter welcoming me as a member of the College and the University. All these letters, written to me in their own hand, naturally made me feel I was an important person.

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In fact, that is what every freshman thinks of himself; for it was the custom, at any rate in my time, for the Master of the Sidney to write an amiable personal letter to every freshman, to buck him up. It was only after the commencement of the term that we realised our real position; it was difficult to get an interview with the Tutor, let alone the Master. We had to queue up to see the Tutor and we could not see the Master at all unless we were sent for. The Master, however, invited all the freshmen to tea one evening in October in his drawing-room and after tea gave us a talk regarding our behaviour in the College and the University. He started by reminding us that we were persons in *statu pupillari*, that is, members of the University subject to the authority of the Court of Discipline and Proctors. We were required to show due respect and obedience to the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Pro-Proctors, and any others in authority in the University. We were to state our names and the colleges to which we belonged when asked by the Proctors, Pro-Proctors or by any Master, and to behave at all times modestly and becomingly. The Master also drew our attention to the need of wearing academic dress (i. e. cap and gown) at all lectures, in the library, in the streets after dusk and also at the college dinners. He summed up his advice saying, "While you are up here, you have to behave like gentlemen and we treat you as gentlemen." In Cambridge, smoking while wearing academical dress is a breach of discipline. A story was current in my time that a new undergraduate was found smoking in the streets of Cambridge. A Pro-Proctor asked him his name and college and told him he was fined 6 s. 8 d. for not wearing academical dress after dusk. The undergraduate immediately produced the gown he was carrying under his arm. Thereupon the Pro-Proctor told him that he was fined 13 s. 4 d. for smoking in academical dress!

The word 'gentleman' used by the Master in his talk to us meant obviously a man of good social position. Good manners are the hall-mark of gentle birth and of good upbringing. Most of the students at Cambridge came, of course, from well-to-do families and some of them belonged to the aristocratic classes. In those days, Oxford and Cambridge were beyond the reach of the common people. These Universities were fed mostly by the Public Schools, which were not public at all. There were, of course, scholarships and exhibitions which were awarded in open competition, but the number of such scholarship-holders did not exceed 25% of the total number. The remaining 75% of the students belonged to rich or aristocratic classes. Since I belonged to an agricultural family in

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India, I could not have much in common with them. I noticed that the students were talking motor-cars, cricket, rowing or politics, and I was hardly in a position to participate in such talk. I thought, at first, my prospect of making friends was very thin indeed. So I simply stuck to my work in Mathematics.

Lectures began straightaway on 11th October and ended only on the last day of the term i.e. 12th December. No holidays are allowed in between. It is hard work all through, without respite. A student may attend any lectures he likes. Of course, there is a Director of Studies, or Supervisor, in each subject in every college, and he advises students to take a particular course and to attend particular lectures. There were three lectures a week on each unit of study, and I had to take 5 or 6 such units each term. Each lecture lasted about an hour under the formal conditions of a class-room. Thus I was busy attending lectures from 9 a.m. to 12 noon every day. Apart from these, there used to be three periods a week of supervision or tutorials. The Director of Studies, or Supervisor, engaged a batch of two or three students and made us solve the examination papers of previous years. For the first year, Mr. Knox-Shaw, who was Tutor of the College as well, was Supervisor for me and K. R. H. Johnston who had come to Cambridge with a scholarship from a Grammar School. The teaching arrangement is somewhat peculiar at Oxford and Cambridge. For each unit of study in a particular subject, there are generally three or four Lecturers selected from the various Colleges, and the undergraduates can attend the lectures of any one he likes, no matter which college he belongs to. The Supervisor supplements the work of these Lecturers by attending to the personal difficulties of the undergraduates. In fact, it is the Supervisor who knows how far the student is benefiting from the lectures he attends. He gives a sort of homework to the students and examines the homework done by them. In Mathematics, it is usual to set a few examples from the textbooks or from the previous examination papers, and if the student is unable to solve any of them, the Supervisor will do it for him. In other subjects, like History or Philosophy, it is usual to set essays on important topics and make the students think for themselves. Essay type questions are set even to Science and Engineering students. The whole object of supervision is to pay individual attention to the students and to see whether they are working hard enough. The students also receive advice about their reading from the supervisor. Each College does not necessarily have teaching staff in every subject and may, therefore, send its students to a supervisor of some other College for tutorials or supervision. The Colleges do not

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maintain their own laboratories of Demonstrators, and the students are required to carry out their practical work in the University laboratories. Apart from the University library, to which undergraduates are admitted for the purpose of consulting books almost throughout the year, each College has a library of its own for the use of its students. I noticed that the students who had just come out from the VIth form of a Public or Grammar School in England were better equipped to follow the lectures at Cambridge than I was, although I had obtained a First Class B.A. (Hons) in Mathematics of Bombay University. As an Arts student, I could hold my own in Pure Mathematics, but in Applied Mathematics I was at a disadvantage compared with students of the British Secondary schools. I had absolutely no knowledge of Electricity and Magnetism or Optics, which I had to do in the First Year for Part I of the Mathematical Tripos. Even in Pure Mathematics, students coming from the British Public Schools had already read Hardy's Pure Mathematics and Goursat's Mathematical Analysis. So I found the going somewhat stiff, at least in the First Year. On the other hand, there were subjects like Analytical Geometry and Calculus for Part I Tripos, which I found to be of the same standard, more or less, as the Bombay B.A. Honours. So, in such subjects I attended advanced lectures required for Part II even in the First Year, but as for as Applied Mathematics of Part I was concerned, I had to attend all of them. During the last 40 years, the position has considerably changed. The course prescribed for Part II in my days has since been pushed down to Part I. This is how the standard of education goes on improving in England, while in India our courses, at least in Mathematics, are practically stagnant. This explains the difficulty of Indian students who go abroad for advanced work.

The residential accommodation in the Sidney Sussex was just sufficient for about half the number of its students. The remainder had to live in licensed lodgings, but everybody had his turn, at least for a year, of living in the College during his stay at Cambridge. I was given rooms in a licensed lodging at Aylstone Road for the first and third years, while I lived in the College during my second year. Personally, I preferred to stay in the licensed lodging, at least to begin with, as the landlady, Mrs. Brown, who was to look after me, was an exceedingly nice woman. I had difficulties about my food at first, as I was not accustomed to non-vegetarian food, though my landlady took great pains in preparing vegetarian food for me. Mrs. Brown had not taken in any student before, as her husband was fairly well to do as manager of a shop in the town. In England, it is fairly common among the working classes to let out some rooms of their houses and to

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look after the tenants. It is a way the landlady has of earning a little extra money for herself. I was the first and the last student Mrs. Brown ever took in, and I must say I was quite happy.

The College now insists on all students having two meals a day in the College hall, irrespective of the fact whether they live in College rooms or in licensed lodgings. This is done to see that the students have at least two good meals a day, as poor students are inclined to cut off some meals to save money. In my time, only one meal was compulsory. I was required to have my dinner in the College, at least 5 days in the week, throughout my 10 terms of residence at Sidney. The students have their dinner on the lower tables, while the teachers ('dons', as they are called at Cambridge), including the Master and the Tutor, sat at the high tables. It used to be a three-course dinner, consisting of soup, meat and pudding, and cost 2 s. 6 d. The College Che'f-Martin-was a lovable and obliging sort of man and used to prepare some other dish for me instead of meat. The dinner served us was more than sufficient for me, as I was not a big eater, but there were students who used to play games and there were some others who did not have a big lunch, and these found the College dinner insufficient. One night, all the students of Sidney decided to strike by leaving the dinner table at the end of the first course. This made the College authorities provide an extra course of cheese and biscuits, but the dinner charges were, in consequence, raised by twopence. On the whole, I found life enjoyable enough, but I had hardly any friends during the first year, except Johnston, who was my companion at the supervision periods, and two Indians—R. N. Choudhari of Allahabad, and R. Dayal, an I. C. S. probationer, who were both at Sidney during my first term. Choudhari was senior to me by 2 years and was due to sit for Part II of the Mathematics Tripos that year. Dayal, on the other hand, was no regular student, but had been assigned to the College for the usual Civil Service training. Both of them were kind and friendly. There was another Indian student whom I met for the first time at Cambridge in my first term, but remained a life-long friend—G. S. Mahajani, of St. John's College. He had already taken his degree but had stayed on at Cambridge for research in Mathematics as he had won a College Research scholarship.

The first term ended on 12th December, and I was amazed at the amount of knowledge which had been transmitted to us within so short a time. In India, the first two months are almost spent in just settling down. Here, these two months appeared to me so crowded with activity. In fact, we were longing for a holiday. The Michaelmas

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term is followed by the Chritmas holidays, of about 5 weeks. This vacation comes at a time when it is frightfully cold in England. The Indian students used to go to a sea-side place during the cold weather, as it is supposed to be a little warmer in such towns than in the interior. I spent almost all the vacations at sea-side places or on the Continent. I used to go to Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight, every Christmas vacation. Many other Indian students were also found there and we used to have a good time together. Since it is to the extreme south of England, the weather there is very nice and enjoyable. I remember climbing up a steep hill and rolling down the whole length of it. It was such fun! We also used to go swimming in the sea. It is surprising how warm it is in the sea even during the cold weather. Of all vacations, the Christmas mas was the most enjoyable, for we had gorgeous parties on Christmas and on New Year's day. During this season, it is so cold that it snows in many parts of England, and I remember girls throwing snow-balls at us. It was the normal licence of the season!

After such a topping time, I felt quite fresh and ready for the next term of work, commencing on 15th January and closing on 10th March. Then followed a month's vacation. The third term, known as the Easter term, is short, lasting from 10th April to the end of May. All the University examinations are held at the end of this term and the results declared by 15th June. And yet, the examiners go through the scripts with meticulous care!

During my first year up at Cambridge, I was, to all intents and purposes, a bookworm. In India we were accustomed to solving all the examples in standard textbooks in Mathematics and I followed the same practice at Cambridge. I would not be satisfied until all the the examples in the textbooks and the homework set were done by me from day to day. I also tried to read more than was necessary, with the result that I was pretty well confused. This was partly due to my not mixing with the others and having no social life of any kind. I have seen students at Cambridge who go on reading and reading with little idea of what they have read. They are known as 'swots'. In the end, they do not do so well in the examination and complain that there is something wrong with the examinations at Cambridge. I have known a Bengali student who would not move out of his room. Swotting, swotting all the time! He did not get a First in any of the examinations. I realise now that I was something of a swot in my first year at Cambridge. However, I got a First Class in Part I of the Tripos in June 1925. There were 60 examples to be solved—10 for each paper, and 40 of them were in Pure Mathematics and 20 in

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Applied. I had solved 36 examples in Pure Mathematics and about 5 in Applied. I believe 66% marks were required for a first. My Tutor told me that I had not done well in Applied Mathematics and that I was not very high in the list of First Classes. This naturally worried me as I was accustomed to being top in examinations in India. The real reasons for not doing so well in Part I were three: I was not accustomed to Applied Mathematics of Cambridge University, really meant for Physics and Engineering students. In fact, my companion, Johnston, who did better than me in Part I at the end of the first year, gave up Mathematics and took Part II Tripos in Physics. Secondly, one must have a clear head during the examination and concentrate one essential principles rather than on details. One understands principles or grasps new ideas only by applying them in any situation. It is quite possible in education to miss the wood for the trees. Thirdly, it is more paying at Cambridge to confine oneself to the understanding of the lectures and doing the homework given by each Lecturer and the Director of Studies than to read many books or solve many examples. We have to avoid being bogged in far too many details. In India, most of the University papers in Mathematics contain examples from some book or other and, if you have solved them beforehand, you solve them almost mechanically. At Cambridge, one does not get such examples. Almost every question is fresh and requires the candidates to think for themselves. This makes all the difference and explains why some of our Indian students are simply routed in the Cambridge examinations, particularly in Mathematics, Physics and Engineering. I have known a student with a first class M.A. in Mathematics of Calcutta University, shiver in the examination hall at Cambridge at the sight of the question-paper. He had to be taken to a nursing home! This he did for two successive years, with the result that he came home without a Cambridge degree. All this is due to the fact that the examples solved from books do not generally appear in the examination paper and so cramming notes does not pay at all. The questions are, or look, new and call for fresh thinking. Anyway, I had a First Class, and my College awarded me a scholarship of £40 and a prize, in the shape of books, of the value of £5. This was, of course, quite encouraging and bucked me up a good deal, having regard to the fact that only about 10% of the students of the College were scholars.

The question of spending the long vacation from 20th June to 10th October did not present any difficulties. I realised that I must have a working knowledge of French, as I had to read some books in that language. In fact, a French book on Mathematical Analysis was

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almost a textbook for me. R.N. Choudhari of my College, who had just taken his Tripos in Mathematics, had narrowly missed his First and, to make up for this, he was thinking of doing research in Mathematics. For that, his father must provide funds and the University should allow him to continue his stay at Cambridge. Both these possibilities seemed to him remote. In any case, he thought he should, meantime, brush up his French by staying in France for about three months. He was very friendly with me as we both belonged to the same College and were interested in the same subject. At Cambridge, a senior student, be it by a year or two, puts on airs and generally takes no notice of his juniors. Choudhari, however, was kind and helpful to me. In fact, I had great admiration for his wit and humour. So, we left for Paris together on 20th June, 1925. Choudhari was a Bengali by birth but his family had been residing in Allahabad for two generations. He knew some French and we managed to reach a house in Paris where there were quite a few Indians. I did not know any French at the time and depended entirely on Indian friends living in that house for ordering my food in restaurants. Among them was Dr. S.N. Bose, F.R.S., now National Professor of Physics. In a couple of days, Choudhari and I met the head of an institution which taught French to foreigners. Monsieur Tehron agreed to take us in. He ran two courses outside Paris—one in summer and the other in winter—for foreigners, at different places. The summer course for that year was to be held at Saint-Quay-Portrieux, in the northern part of France. It was a small village on the coast, and Monsieur Tehron had rented a number of villas for his school. Chaudhari and I were accommodated in two different villas at some distance from one another, to avoid the possibility of our speaking in English or in an Indian language. The Institute had taken an agreement from us that we speak no language other than French during the next three months, which, of course, is the only way of learning a foreign language in a short time. I had great difficulty at first, but everybody was sympathetic and would give me the English equivalent of what they said. They wanted me to answer in French all the same.

There were about twenty foreign students in the school, come from different countries—America, England, Norway, Poland, Spain, Czechoslovakia and India. Not all of them were earnest students like me. A few had come just for a holiday; for, board, lodging and tuition altogether cost only about £20 a month. The Americans were oldish men and women, with the exception of a girl of about 20; but the rest of the students were young men and women between 18 and

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25. It happened that there were more young women than men. The ratio was about 4 : 1. Of the young men, one was from Spain, three from Cambridge including the two of us, and one from Oxford. Although Choudhari kept to himself in his room reading Mathematics and German, he was a shrewd observer of the people and happenings in the school. The name of the Spanish young man was Bravo, and Choudhari thought he was a disgrace to his name, as he appeared to be a coward to all intents and purposes. The other Cambridge student—an Englishman—seemed to be developing some sort of attachment to the Polish girl, who, in our opinion, was quite plain. But love, of course, is blind. The Oxford man was more interested in his clothes than anybody in the school and used to show off his different suits and ties of various colours. In any case, he was not a good mixer and stood aloof from the rest. Choudhari and myself often talked about the types, characteristics and interests of the different people in the school. As regards the girls, who formed the majority, we tried to arrange their names on a piece of paper in a sort of gradation list strictly on the basis of their looks. We put four of them in the first class—three from Norway and one from Czechoslovakia—six of them in the second, and the remainder in the third. Choudhari described one of the Norwegian girls as superb, divine, and grace personified. The three Norwegian girls were really attractive, but there weren't enough young men in the school to pay attention to them. For the first week or two, we were just feeling our way about and could not take much notice of these girls. We had our lessons in French in different groups according to the knowledge of French we already possessed. Since I did not know any French, a teacher was in exclusive charge of me. All these teachers were women, except the head who, however, did not do any teaching. We do not mix freely with women in India. At any rate, I was brought up in a society which would not tolerate young men and women going out together home for a walk or a cinema and coming home late at night. So I was reserved, and my conversation with the girls in the school had not progressed beyond asking them to pass on the salt or pepper at the dining table. It was summer and the weather was generally fine without rain. One day we were relaxing on the lawn after lunch and there were quite a few girls sitting on the lawn near me. One of the Norwegian girls said to another in French, referring to me, "Hasn't he lovely hair?" The other girl said, "What bright eyes he has!" and a third girl (the Czech) said, "What beautiful teeth he has!" The other women agreed. These compliments made me blush, as I was under the impression that good looks were not my strong point. This was the

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starting point of our conversation and friendship. The Czechoslovakian girl asked me how I managed to have such beautiful teeth. I said, "Euthymol tooth paste," at which everybody laughed. Then a Norwegian girl said, "In our country we think India is a fairy land. Tell me something of your country." I replied, "I do not know whether India is a fairy land, but I see a few Norwegian fairies right in front of me." This was the kind of talk to while away an idle hour before we went back to our rooms. Social life is an essential part of training in such schools. By mixing freely with the other students and conversing together, we learn a foreign language quickly. We used to go out for walks along the sea shore and had dances in the evening. Our medium of communication was French all the time. The Norwegian girls taught me dancing—first the Waltz and then the Fox-trot. All this did not cost me anything, as dances were free in the village. Occasionally, I had to spend some money on ice cream for the girls, for we often went out swimming and I had to provide ice cream after the swim. Some of them I taught swimming and I myself often went up to a boat anchored in the sea at about 100 metres from the shore. The Frenchmen who watched me swimming often complimented me by saying, "You swim like a fish": All these 'extra-curricular' activities enabled me to pick up French easily and quickly, so that in about two months I was able to speak French fluently. The school at Saint-Quay-Portrieux closed on 25th September, and on the previous evening we had a farewell party. I was one of those who spoke in French on the occasion. I remember I said, "The school does valuable work in propagating the French language and literature to foreigners. We had a most enjoyable time for about 3 months here, learning French under the guidance of able and experienced teachers. The social life in the school is most enjoyable. In particular, I must thank my own teacher, who took great pains in teaching me French during the period. I must also mention that the school cuisine leaves nothing to be desired. In fact, I have begun to appreciate and enjoy French food, just as much as I do French literature and art." These words pleased the authorities of the school, who, in turn, thanked me. Then we parted; but for many years after I used to receive letters from those Norwegian girls and replied to them in French. At this distance of time, I do not remember what I wrote to them or what they wrote to me. I suppose they were just billets-doux—nice words and sentiments, signifying nothing!

The Michaelmas term of the second year of my residence at Cambridge commenced, as usual, in the second week of October. Now I had to attend lectures in the advanced subjects required for

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Part II of the Mathematical Tripos. I came under the supervision of Mr. R. H. D. Mayall, Senior Lecturer in Mathematics at Sidney. He was a very experienced supervisor and could solve any examples with ease, particularly in Applied Mathematics, either from books or from the previous examination papers. We were only three students doing the Mathematics Tripos Part II at Sidney—Ram Behari (a freshman who joined for Part II straightaway as he was a double First M. A. of Punjab University), Roy G. D. Allen and myself. Allen had been under Mr. Mayall's supervision even during his first year. He was a brilliant mathematician, and it was my good fortune that he happened to be in my batch. Mr. Mayall named the persons in the different colleges whose lectures we should do. For tutorials we went to Mr. Mayall for three hours each week. The most prominent mathematicians of the time at Cambridge whose lectures we attended with benefit were J. E. Littlewood, S. Pollard and F. P. Ramsay, the great mathematical philosopher. I was sorry to hear a few years later that Pollard and Ramsay had died rather prematurely. They were both clear thinkers, apart from being popular Lecturers.

So life went on smoothly at Cambridge, with lectures in the morning, a short rest followed by work in the afternoon, dinner at the College and back to my room. During my second year, I was given rooms in the College, in Garden Court, which was just ready for occupation. I was one of the first few students to occupy rooms in this new building. The rooms were very spacious, consisting of a bed-room, a well-furnished drawing-room in which I could also cook my food, and a small pantry. This might appear luxurious for an undergraduate student, but most of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge provide a comfortable suite of rooms to their students. I could either order food from the College kitchen or prepare my own food. Since the College food was somewhat costly, I used to prepare my own breakfast, lunch and afternoon tea. The evening dinner was, of course, compulsory at the College Hall. To prepare my own food and to purchase the foodstuffs from a grocer was about the easiest thing at Cambridge. Gas was provided in the drawing-room, with the result that cooking was done in less than a quarter of an hour. A man came and left 2 pints of milk and a roll of bread in the pantry even before I was up. A grocer called on me regularly two days in the week and took my orders about the supply of sugar, butter, cheese, cereals and other requirements. A gyp was attached to about 8 suites of rooms for cleaning the rooms and utensils, laying the dining tables, etc. Hot water baths

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were provided at one end of each floor in the new residential hall in Garden Court. Life was extremely comfortable and I had no difficulty whatsoever. After a hot bath early morning, I felt sufficiently warm throughout the day even in winter. I prepared rice and curry for lunch. There were two more Indian students in this Hall—S. C. Das Gupta from Calcutta and F. G. R. Khairaj from Bombay. Das Gupta did Mathematics and was one year senior to me. He occasionally shared my rice and curry lunch with me. Khairaz was an interesting person. He was always spending beyond his means. Although his father, who was an eminent officer under the Bombay Government, sent his remittance regularly, Khairaz was always in debt. There were some features which made him extremely popular with the students in the Garden Court. He was to take his Tripos in Law; but he did not seem to attend any lectures. He slept during the day and his activities started at 4 p.m. to continue right up to the early hours of the morning. He was interesting in conversation and handsome in appearance. He was a Khoja Moslem belonging to a Bombay family. He was a well-known personality in our college. One day he invited me to coffee at 10 p.m. and I thought there would be 3 or 4 boys at the most. To my surprise, he had invited practically all the students of Garden Court. Apart from the nice coffee and biscuits, he entertained us with his usual cock-and-bull stories. At the end he said, "Gentlemen, you need not thank me for this coffee; for there is nothing in this entertainment which is really mine. I have taken sugar from one, milk from another, coffee and biscuits from such and such. At the most, you can thank me for preparing and serving the coffee to you." And everyboody laughed. It was so typical of Khairaz. He often used to see me when he was in financial difficulties and borrow anything from £2 to £5. He used to say, "As a good Moslem, I am bound to return the money, and if I die before paying my debt, I pay in the next world with interest, of course assuming that we shall be in the same place." I used to lend him money, first because he was an interesting person with charming manners, always ready to entertain you with idle talk, and secondly because he used to return the money after a few months. The British people are always amused by stories at their own cost. Khairaz use to narrate incidents, more imaginary than real, against the British in the various parts of their Empire. Such stories interested the English students and we all had a hearty laugh together. So he knew everybody, and the British students, too, advanced him money whenever he was in need. I do not know whether he returned their money, but he still owed me a few

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pounds when I returned home. I did not mind it, as he was an entertaining and charming person. After many years, however, he sent me back the money in rupees with interest, when I was in Poona, through somebody, with a note of apology for the delay. I was then Director of Public Instruction of the old Bombay State and he was part-time Lecturer in Mercantile Law at the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, which was under my control. I was happy to hear from him, not because he paid back the money he owed me, but because I found that he did in the end obtain some sort of Cambridge degree and was called to the Bar, which eventually enabled him to practise as a Lawyer in Bombay and also secure a part-time appointment at the Sydenham College. It is a pity I did not meet him personally, as I would have loved to chat with him about our days together and draw out his later adventures at Cambridge and London.

There are many student societies and organisations for sports at Cambridge. I am afraid I did not take advantage of them to any great extent throughout my stay. I was not particularly good at games, although I did occasionally play tennis. Ram Behari, on the other hand, had been a tennis champion in India and won the College colours easily. The most important centre of social life is the Cambridge Union, which any Cambridge student could join. It has a magnificent building of its own, with an auditorium, a reading hall and a canteen. One could get good meals there at a reasonable cost and stay on throughout the day for reading and writing. I did not join it as I was not particularly interested in its activities. Even so, I often had meals with friends at the Union. The most interesting feature of the Cambridge Union is a series of debates on interesting topics—often political—at which not only students but also eminent Ministers and Members of Parliament talk. The standard of debate was often high and some thought it was higher than in Parliament itself on one or two occasions. Sometimes I used to attend those debates with great interest. The Indian students had their own Majlis, which I often attended. The Indian Unity League was another organisation of Indian students in which I took great interest. I was Secretary for one term and ended by being its President. I once read a paper in the League on the problems of Indians in South Africa. G. S. Mahajani and other Bombay friends were also interested in the League.

The second year was perhaps the best and happiest of my three years at Cambridge. I had many friends both among Indians and Englishmen, and had a reasonable share in the social life of the Univer-

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sity. This was because I was in the College itself during my second year. Ram Behari, Allen and I, who were doing Mathematics under Mr. Mayall, became great friends and Allen influenced me a good deal not only in habits of study but also in social life. I abandoned my old idea of mastering Mathematics by solving examples from all possible books. Instead, I stuck to the lectures I heard and the supervision work under Mr. Mayall without bothering about other examples. By overworking, one is apt to get muddled. I do not think I worked more than 6 hours a day, apart from the lectures and tutorials, during the second and the third years, whereas I must have worked a good deal more in the first year. Moreover, I did quite a lot of reading —books of general interest, such as novels, dramas, biographies. Allen and myself often went to plays, pictures and also to operas, whenever good companies visited Cambridge. Through Roy Allen, I had quite a few friends, one of whom was G. J. Nash. We went for afternoon tea every week-end to Dorothy Cafe next door and one of us—Bill— was always keen on being served by a particular waitress, a nice young girl. There were seven or eight of us and we caused a lot of disturbance to the other clients by our boisterous talk and laughter. The waitress was, of course, quite accommodating, and even though we once smashed the crockery, we had to pay no damages.

At the end of each term, I used to go to a watering place and spent my time in visits to interesting nearby places. I carry very sweet impressions of these places, which I used to visit all by myself. I still remember the good time I had at Torquay in Devonshire.

In those days, the Part II examination of the Mathematics Tripos was taken at the end of the third year along with the Schedule B subjects. At the end of the second year, we had an examination known as the Inter-collegiate examination (popularly called the Mays) which was not a University examination. The University authorities do not disclose to the students their relative rank in the examination, but we knew our ranks in the Mays examination which was more or less of the same standard as the Part II examination in Schedule A. In this examination, held in June 1926, there were about 20 Firsts, and Allen, myself and Nash were in that list. Allen was second, I was sixth and Nash a little further down. Of course, there were separate lists for second and third class candidates. So I knew where I stood and hoped that I could do even better in the next year's University examination. Sidney Sussex College used to award scholarships on the basis of the results at the annual examination. The scholarship of £ 40 awarded to me for the second year, was now raised to £ 60 on the basis of my performance in the Inter-collegiate examination. Each year I also

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received a prize in the shape of books, with the College arms stamped on them. The prize books were to be chosen by the students themselves. I usually selected some novels of Thomas Hardy and plays of Bernard Shaw. The second year's examination was a great improvement on the first year's and I was sure that I was proceeding on the right lines without working too hard.

There is a vacation term of 6 weeks at Cambridge for those who are required to supplement their previous year's work This was not necessary for me; still, instead of going to the Continent or spending three months of the 1926 vacation in London or somewhere else, I decided to spend these six weeks in the College and read and revise the work done as well as cover fresh ground. That was the time I made good use of the University library. After this term, G.S. Mahajani, myself, K. L. Desai of Surat and Seetabai Ajgaonkar (who was at Oxford) went for a holiday in the Lake District. We saw all the lakes and climbed many hills. On one occasion, we were caught in the mist on the top of a hill when we had still two miles to go before coming to a road. Mahajani was hesitating to go further in view of the fact that the path over the hill was unknown and we could see nothing in the mist. We thought the best course was to beat a retreat and try to reach the road by a path along the foot of the hill. This hill is on Grasmere Lake near which the poet Wordsworth lived. We spent two weeks in the Lake District and had a most enjoyable time. Before returning to Cambridge, we also saw Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace.

I was shifted back to my old digs during the third year, as I had my turn at the College. At Cambridge, sportsmen are more favourably treated than first-class scholars in respect of rooms in the College. I noticed that a third-class student who used to play golf for the College was given a room in the College all the three years, while many first-class scholars were given rooms only for one year. I do not know the present position; but in my time, games loomed large in the eyes of the College authorities. The whole nation gets excited at the time of the boat races between Oxford and Cambridge. But I do not grudge the few advantages enjoyed by sportsmen at Cambridge. My landlady, Mrs. Brown, was a jewel. She often told me that I was her Indian son and indeed looked after me as though I was that. The only trouble was that she used to start a row whenever I was late for lunch. That, of course, all women do, and should not detract from the kindness and care she bestowed on me during the two years I stayed in her house. Allen was also in digs, but we all continued to meet at Dorothy Cafe at least once a week.

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During my third year, I had to choose my subject for specialisation in Mathematics. Allen and did the same lectures during the second year. So, for the third year we chose the Theory of Functions of a Real Variable (Theory of Sets etc.) and the Electron Theory. The Electron Theory was of no consequence by that time in view of the development of Quantum Mechanics and Einstein's Theory of Relativity, but it was a subject taken by my friend Mahajani. So I decided to study it and Allen did it because of me. Mahajani had won the Smith's Prize that year and was freind, guide and philosopher to me. He had applied for a fellowship at St. John's College, but could not stand competition with Dirac, who is now a mathematician of international fame. So Mahajani was to leave for home shortly.

Allen and I took two independent course in the Function Theory—one by Littlewood and the other by Pollard. We liked the latter better who was an inspiring teacher. Mr. Cunningham lectured to us on the Electron Theory, which seemed to us nothing more than playing with Vector Analysis. Another inspiring teacher at the time for Part II Tripos was G. Birtwistle. He was a Senior Wrangler and had been bracketed with R.P. Paranjpe. He taught us Electricity and Magnetism and had a grat knack for making the subject easy and interesting. As usual, we started solving the previous year's papers under the supervision of Mr. Mayall. By that time, I had shed all my fears for Applied Mathematics and was interested in Applied as in Pure. In fact, I enjoyed all the lectures I took in the third year. The Michaelmas term came to a close in December and, as usual, I went to Ventnor for a holiday. The Lent term commenced in January, and the same kind of lectures and tutorials, with the solving of previous papers occupied my time. When we broke up for the Easter vacation, it was spring and I did not know where to spend my holiday. The last term was usually a short one, as we had our final examination towards the end of May. So, all the preparations for the examination—such as were necessary—had to be done during the Easter vacation. I had not seen Wales and I thought it would be a good plan to spend the vacation in Wales, far away from Cambridge, with no one to disturb me. I decided to go to a sea-side place called Llandudno, on the western coast. So I carefully packed up the books and notes I had made in a bag and sent it in advance by rail. I was to stay there in a hotel to which the bag was sent in advance. I arrived in Llandudno, but there was no sign of the bag either in the hotel or at the station. I became almost panicky, for the bag contained the essence of my work during the past two years, and if that was lost I would be seriously inconvenience. The station-master, too, was unhappy at the loss of

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my bag and sent telegram after telegram to various stations where it might be lying unattended to for some reason or other. I was worried, but there was nothing I could do about it. During this period of restlessness, I met a man from Manchester, who became a great friend of mine for years. He was Thomas Barton, the Headmaster of a Secondary school. He was living in the same hotel where I was and looked to me weighty and solemn. Our intimacy developed from a casual talk about the weather. He wanted to forget his work in the school by thinking of something else, and I, having lost my bag, had nothing whatever to do. Our conversation was somehow switched on to Religion and God. I do not belong to that class of pious men who do everything in the name of God, and would have ordinarily liked to avoid discussion on that subject. He appeared to me as one having no faith in Christianity and anxious to know something about Hinduism. That is how it started. But I had little knowledge of the Hindu religion—my knowledge has not advanced much even now—and could give no authoritative account of our religious doctrines or practices. At the same time, I did not want to show my ignorance of the Hindu religion to a stranger who was anxious to know something about it. So I gave him my own version of Hinduism, something like this: "Hindus believe only in one God. There are different levels of culture among the Hindus, and the ordinary working class Hindu attributes a human form to God, who is interested in the day-to-day affairs of man, and believes in reward and punishment by Him. Some immature people believe in several gods and goddesses and even in animals with divine powers. That is because they are not in a position to visualise a monotheistic God. Actually, the only reality is God in the abstract, beyond good and evil, and the rest is illusion. While the Hindus go to the temples occasionally and worship idols as symbols of God, they do so in the belief that this is one of the ways of self-realisation, which is the ultimate aim of their existence. There have been many reformist movements among the Hindus from time to time to give up the cruder forms of worship, to emphasise the fact that God exists for all and that there is no distinction between man and man. I myself belong to such a class, known as Veerasaivas, who believe in monotheism." I do not know what impression such an analysis of Hindu ideas of God made on Mr. Thomas Barton. Later on, I sent him a copy of Radhakrishnan's book on 'Hinduism', which I had not read myself. But what impressed Mr. Barton were my views on prayer. I said, "Many people go for prayers and sing the glory of God. That is all right up to a point. When they are in difficulties they pray to God to help them. Why should He help you at the cost of somebody else whom He also loves?

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Since He made the universe and all of us, why should He be partial to you and not to me? Actually, I have been accustomed to offer prayers to God while going to bed, but I never seek a single favour personally for myself. I pray for the happiness of all. The reason is simple. If I pray to God to see that a certain thing happens and it does not actually happen, my faith in God is shaken. I have been taught from my childhood to love all human beings as we are the sons and daughters of the same God." This impressed him so much that he embraced me right on the beach in the presence of all. He said, "The Hindu religion is wonderful. I wish I were a Hindu." We went out every evening for a walk together, talking about the British politics of those days, labour problems, modern civilization, Ramsay Macdonald, Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell and several others of topical interest. He was a bachelor and over 50 years old. Later he sent me a set of books on Education, some of which I still possess, and, before I left England, came down to Cambridge to see me. He used to write me affectionate letters regularly for several years and send me presents. I believe he was a very emotional sort of man, hungering for friendship and spiritual solace.

After a week I got back my bag, which was absolutely intact. The label slip attached to it at Cambridge had apparently given way in transit, and the railway authorities had no means of knowing where to send it until they opened it and found that the contents tallied with those described in the telegram sent from Llandudno. This accident gave me compulsory rest from work for a week.

After a month's holiday in Wales, I returned to Cambridge fully refreshed. There was hardly a month before us in which to attend a few more lectures and to get ready for the final examination. Allen and I had decided not to read anything on the last two days before the examination. We spent one day on the river canoeing. On the other day, my landlord, Mr. Brown, took us out for a drive. We went to see a factory which manufactured shredded wheat for breakfast. The workers in this factory were young girls who were excited to see an Indian. I remember their saying to one another about me, "Isn't he a darling?" The factory manager showed us round and we were interested to see the various processes by which shredded wheat is made, baked and packed.

At Cambridge, two examination papers are set each day—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. We had to answer six papers in Schedule A and another six in Schedule B. Now these two schedules are separated and two different examinations are held, one at the end of the second year and the other at the end of the

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third. It was Schedule A which decided our class in the final examination, Schedule B consisting mainly of reproduction of the lectures in the advanced subjects. Both Allen and I did very well in the final examination, thus both becoming Wranglers, and also obtained distinction in Schedule B subjects. Of course, Allen must have stood first among the candidates who became Wranglers and, had the old practice continued, would have become Senior Wrangler of that year. However, we did not know our rank and it did not much matter. Both of us obtained the College scholarship of £80 to enable us to carry on research if we wanted. We were both anxious, however, to settle down in life. As I have recorded earlier, I did not do well in Applied Mathematics in the Part I examination, but in Part II Applied Mathematics was my mainstay. I remember solving all the questions in Electricity and Magnetism and Thermodynamics, and it is these subjects that practically ensured my First.

The most interesting feature of Cambridge examinations is that the interval between the first day of the examination and the declaration of results is never more than three weeks. During the third week of June, the Convocation was held and I obtained my degree in person. I had to spend some money on the dress required for the occasion. At that time, the Master of my College, Rev. Weekes, happened to be also the Vice-Chancellor of the University. I was required to kneel before him while taking the degree, and I remember he gave me the nicest of smiles. After the Convocation, the College gives a dinner to the graduates of the year and I remember I was quite thrilled to sit next to Mr. Knox-Shaw at the High Table.

The Sirasangi Trust scholarship ran only until I took the Mathematics Tripos, and I should have left for home immediately after taking my degree. They, however, continued the scholarship for another 6 months so that I might be initiated into research. I had developed a great liking for the Function Theory and thought I should take up some problems in that subject. So I sought Mr. Pollard's guidance. He suggested a problem which required my reading German books and journals. I thought I should spend the summer vacation in Germany where I could do Mathematics while learning the German language. Göttingen was in those days well known for Pure Mathematics. The great mathematician Landau was Professor in the University. So I decided to spend the long vacation in Germany.

Meantime, Allen's 21st birthday was to be celebrated at his home in Worcester. Before going to Germany, I spent a week at

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Worcester with Allen. The 21st birthday in Britain is an important event. The attainment of majority is celebrated with much solemnity and merry-making. Allen had invited some four friends from Cambridge and we had a top-hole time. There were more girls than boys and we had our pick of partners for dancing. The whole night we danced and drank. The drinks were soft, and there was nothing to make us tipsy but the excitement of being together. There was an interval of speech-making and wishing Allen many happy returns. His parents and relatives were all, naturally, happy and so were we. Thirty-eight years have passed since then and I still carry happy impressions of the occasion.

After a week's stay in Paris, I left for Göttingen. V. S. Gaitonde, who was also doing Mathematics at Cambridge, was my companion during this period. He was already a Lecturer in Elphinstone College, Bombay, but had come to Cambridge for improving his qualifications and prospects. He was in his second year and would take his Tripos in the following year. He too was anxious to learn German. We arrived in Göttingen in the evening and went straight to the house of a young man who was to teach us German. He did not know a word of English, but knew some French. He was himself studying Chinese and was anxious to earn some money by teaching German to foreigners. Those were days of financial depression for Germans and I could see much distress among them. Although we sympathised with this young German, we thought we should make little progress under him. So we went to a regular teacher in a Secondary school who knew English. He taught German well, and I believe Gaitonde made more progress than I did. I was more interested in the problem Mr. Pollard had suggested to me in the Function Theory and for that purpose, I spent most of my time in the Mathematics library of Göttingen University. Gaitonde used to see a Professor and took tuition in an advanced course in Mathematics.

Göttingen is quite an interesting place even for holiday-makers. I used to go out for a walk to the nearby hill on which beautiful roads had been constructed. The Germans told me with evident enjoyment that those roads had been made by the British and French prisoners of war (1914-18). We spent two and a half months here, combining holiday with work. Then we left on a sight-seeing tour of important towns in Germany and Switzerland. We saw Berlin, Munich, Berne, Zurich and Geneva, the duration of our stay in each town depending on the importance of the place from a holiday-maker's point of view. We were in Berlin for about a fortnight. It was now time we went back to Cambridge as the new term commenced on

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10th October. This was to be my last term, as I had no intention of coming back to Cambridge after the Michaelmas term.

Most of our friends had already left Cambridge. Ram Behari went back to Delhi and later joined Dublin University for research. G. J. Nash, who had also become a Wrangler, appeared for the Civil Service examination during the vacation and stood very high. He did not know whether he should come to India or stay at home. The Indian Civil Service always had a great attraction for young Britishers and he consulted me and Allen about it. Eventually he remained in the Home Civil Service. I have met him since on three occasions in London. He has stuck to the Labour Department and is now Under Secretary, which is about the highest post for British Civil servants at home. The other friends had all been absorbed in some service or other.

I spent one more term in the company of Allen. Neither of us had much to do, as we had not come to grips with our research problem. I met Mr. Pollard a few times, but most of my time was spent in the library. Allen stayed on for the whole year and then joined London School of Economics as Lecturer in Mathematics. He later specialised in Statistics and in a few years became a Professor of Mathematics and Statistitics in which he is regarded as one of the best authorities. He once came to India as adviser to the Government of India and came to see me in Poona.

At the end of the term, I left Cambridge for good and was to take an Italian steamer at Naples after a month's holiday in Italy. Many friends came to see me off at the station. Mrs. Brown, my landlady, who had looked after me like a mother for seven terms, burst into tears and Allen said, "Men must work and women must weep." After much shaking of hands, I boarded the train, visibly moved at the prospect of leaving Cambridge where I had been so happy.

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CHAPTER SIX :

first appoint-ment

The circumstances in which I was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematics in the Banaras Hindu University were somewhat droll. Immediately after my return from England in January 1928, I received a confidential communication from Bombay University informing me that I was appointed examiner in Mathematics for the Inter-Arts and Science examinations to be held in March of that year. A young man is terribly excited when he is appointed a university examiner for the first time ; for apart from the remuneration, the offer of an examinership is a sort of recognition of his professional status. In those days, teachers in private colleges were so poorly paid all over India that an additional income of about a thousand rupees made all the difference to his family budget. In fact, some Professors of private colleges largely depended on university examinerships for their living, as their income from that source was two or three times their actual pay. Ordinarily, nobody is appointed examiner by a University unless he has had at least three years' teaching experience and I had no teaching experience whatsoever. Yet, the prestige of a First Class Honours degree of a British University was so high in those days that its holder invariably started well in life. This was particularly so in the case of the Mathematics Tripos of Cambridge University. A Wrangler was regarded, at least in the Bombay Presidency, as the upper limit of proficiency in Mathematics. There were about four Wranglers in the various Colleges of the Bombay University at the time, and they, more or less, managed to set the standard for all Mathematics examinations of the University. I was an addition to that privileged class even before I had any teaching experience! There were four examiners for the Inter-Arts and Science examinations that year and I remember I had quite an exciting time ; for, we were jointly responsible for setting the papers in the four branches of Mathematics prescribed in those days—Analytical Geometry, Solid Geometry, Trigonometry and Calculus. Each one of us had to set a paper ; but all the papers had to be jointly accepted

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by all four in a meeting. Two of the four examiners were somewhat old-fashioned, and I had little difficulty in convincing them of the need to change the questions in the way I wanted. We soon became good friends. Towards the end of May all four examiners assembled again in Bombay to settle the final results as required by the University regulations. One of my colleagues, Shri Trivedi of the Sind College, Karachi, casually asked me whether I had applied for the post of Professor of Mathematics in the Banaras Hindu University, which had been recently advertised. I replied that I was designed to be Principal of the new College proposed to be started at Belgaum and that I had no intention of applying for any post elsewhere. When I returned to Belgaum, however, I found that the proposal for the new College was progressing very slowly in the University, and it became clear that there was no chance of its coming up before the Senate that year. The prospect before me, then, was that I had to remain at Belgaum without any work for at least a year. I had to devote myself entirely to organising the College and collecting funds. It was at this stage that I thought of applying for the post at Banaras. After all, I thought, if I was offered a post, I would be in a better position to run the College at Belgaum with the experience I should gain. But I had already become a life member of the K. L. E. Society and could not leave it without their permission. So I broached the subject to some members. "After all," I said, "What am I going to do here till the College comes into existence? I shall simply waste my energy, and you, your money. Moreover, it is possible that the post at Banaras may have been already filled. I haven't seen the advertisement myself, and probably the last date for applying is already over. I simply want your permission to apply and then let us forget all about it." To this proposal, all the life members of the Society except one, the late Shri M. R. Sakhare, agreed. Accordingly, I wrote a plain letter to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, stating my qualifications. To my surprise, I had a telegram from him exactly 4 days after I had posted my letter, calling me for an interview; they would bear my travelling and other expenses. When I showed the telegram to the other life-members of the Society, they all agreed I should go and that, if the post was offered to me, I should accept it till the College at Belgaum materialised. This was fair enough. The one member who opposed my leaving the Society, even temporarily, remarked, "What I am afraid of is that you will never come back to the Society." He proved to be a true prophet!

May, June and July are extremely hot months in North India, and I did not know anybody in Banaras. I had to stay in a hotel

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and I had no experience of Indian hotels. True, I had stayed once in a Hindu hotel in Bombay about four years before and it had not been too bad; but that was before I went to England. My three years' experience of hotels in Europe had, of course, accustomed me to a standard of comfort which was not then provided in Hindu hotels, specially in North India. I decided, at whatever cost, to stay at the best hotel in the town. The tongawalla drove me to a place known as the Kashmiri Hotel. The name was quite attractive. The room I was given was pretty good, but there was no sign of any bathroom anywhere near. When I asked for one, the manager took me to an open spot about three metres from where the cook was frying *purees*! I had never seen anything like this in my part of the country. This shocked me so much that all I was able to do for the day was to have a cold-water bath and a change of dress. Then I took a tonga for the Pro-Vice-Chancellor's residence on the University campus. My first impressions of Banaras were none too happy!

The Pro-Vice-Chancellor was Anand Shankar Dhruva. When I met him about 11 a.m., he was still in the saffron-coloured silk dhoty which an orthodox Hindu usually puts on for his *puja*. He was very pleased to see me and said we could see the Vice-Chancellor at about 5 p.m. In the meantime, I was directed to the residence of Shri R. S. Inamdar, Professor of Botany, who hailed from my part of the country. When I told him the tale of my woes in the Kashmiri Hotel, he said I should have come straight to him or gone to the University Guest House. Then he sent for my luggage at the hotel.

The Banaras Hindu University did not, in those days, appoint a selection committee of outside experts. The selection committee consisted of only two or three members of the Syndicate, the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Actually, the last two were the only persons who interviewed me that evening. The interview was simple. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor, was a great leader of our country and had steadily built up the University on a crore of rupees—then a vast amount for investment in a University. One of his dreams was to make it a great centre of Hindu culture, while providing facilities for all branches of science and technology. The resources of the University were, however, too meagre. There were three or four posts of Professor on Rs. 500-50-750, and all other Professors' posts in the scale of Rs. 300-20-500. Compared with the Government posts in the Indian Educational Service (or even Class I Service) the scales in the Banaras Hindu University were far from attractive. Professors and Lecturers rarely remained in the University long enough to build up a good school in their subject. This was one

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of the great worries of Panditji. The post of Professor of Mathematics advertised was in the scale of Rs. 300-20-500 with the possibility of promotion to the higher scale in due course. Panditji asked me questions relating to my academic career in Bombay and Cambridge. I also gave an account of my visits to the other Mathematical centres like Paris and Götngen Universities and he seemed to be more than satisfied with my suitability for the post. The next question was the terms of appointment. I told Panditji that I had a moral commitment to serve at Belgaum and that I was not likely to remain in Banaras for more than two years. I was prepared to accept the appointment on Rs. 400 p.m. in the scale. After some haggling, he split the difference and offered me Rs. 350 for the post of Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematics. At that time, a rupee had much more purchasing power than it has had since Independence, and in the context of the economic conditions of those days, Rs. 350 was not a bad salary, and several highly qualified and experienced Professors in the University were getting about the same. Moreover, I was more interested in the teaching and administrative experience than in the actual pay. Though I was inclined to accept it, I said I would consider the matter and let them know the next day. I told Prof. Inamdar all about my interview. Actually, R. N. Choudhari of Allahabad had already been appointed to the post and my application had reached the University just before the formal orders were issued. But they considered my qualifications better than Choudhari's and that was why, Prof. Inamdar said, I was being selected. I was much cut up when I learnt this. Choudhari had been a friend at Cambridge and we had spent three months together in France. It would hurt me very much if I came in his way. Next day I saw the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and told him that I was not interested in this appointment, as I understood they had already taken a decision to appoint Choudhari. Choudhari was a friend of mine and I could not stand in his way. I also assured him that he was just as well qualified as I was and had a First Class in Part I. He had also a First in the Mays examination. Only in the final examination of Part II had he had bad luck. In many respects he was better than I. This statement simply stunned Prof. Dhruva. He was not interested in who became Professor of Mathematics, for Mathematics was a subject which he detested. What interested him was that here was a person who could make room for his friend. He conveyed my views to Pandit Malaviyaji and it made an even better impression on him than my Cambridge qualifications. Actually, Panditji was personally interested in Choudhari, who came from a well-known family in Allahabad.

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Choudhari's grandfather was an eminent lawyer in Allahabad at a time when Panditji himself was practising law there. So he thought over the matter carefully and asked me whether I would be willing to take up the appointment if Choudhari was also taken up. To this I agreed. Another post was created for Choudhari. Meanwhile, Choudhari had got a Lecturer's post in Allahabad University and declined the post at Banaras.

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CHAPTER SEVEN :

the years at Banaras

In northern India, the academic year begins about the middle of July. So I reported for duty on 15th July 1928. As I was not yet provided with residential quarters, I went alone and stayed in the University Guest House for about 2 months.

According to the custom prevailing at Banaras in those days, the work in the University commenced with an inaugural address by Pandit Malaviyaji. All the members of the teaching staff and the students—both undergraduate and postgraduate—loved to hear him. The strength of all the Faculties—Arts, Science, Engineering and Medicine (Ayurvedic) was about 2,500. Most of them turned up to hear Panditji. The hall was packed. Panditji had been a prominent personality in the public life of our country for over four decades and was a seasoned orator. This was my first opportunity to hear him. He usually spoke chaste (that is, highly Sanskritized) Hindi and it was a great pleasure to hear him. I did not know a word of Hindi. I could only understand some Marathi, but having studied Sanskrit for six years, I had no difficulty in following him. We all listened to him with rapt attention. He had a silver tongue, and, as words fell from his lips in measured tones, we were, as it were, lifted from earth to Heaven. The ideas were not new, but the language was sweet. I was myself amazed that, although I did not know Hindi, I could not only follow but enjoy his speech. I have never heard any public speaker so thrilling, sonorous and effective as the Panditji. Another powerful speaker I have heard was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, but all I could appreciate in his Urdu speeches was the music and flow of his words !

I had now to turn to my work. There were two Lecturers in Mathematics—Sri S. D. Pande (now the administrative head of the Birla Education Trust at Pilani) and Sri Jugul Kishore. The Registrar, Sri S. K. De, had also been a Mathematics teacher some time before and he could, at a pinch, lend us a hand. We three were required to do all the teaching, from the First Year of the College to M.A. and M.Sc. The load of work, however, was not as heavy as it would

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appear. There were only four subjects to be taught to the Intermediate classes (1st and 2nd years), 4 for the B.A. and B.Sc. and 8 papers for M.A. and M.Sc. My main teaching work was concerned with M.A. and M.Sc. but I did take one subject for the Intermediate and B.A. classes each. On the other hand, the two Lecturers were also given some teaching work for M.A. and M.Sc., full freedom being given them to choose the subjects they would like to teach. So we got on very well. In fact, we always worked as a team.

I was a great enthusiast for the rigorous methods of teaching Mathematics. Prof. G. H. Hardy was no longer at Cambridge when I was a student there, but there were a sufficient number of his followers to insist on the rigour of Hardy's school, for instance, Littlewood, Pollard and Francis. No loose statement was to be allowed and everything must be logical and precise. For instance, I would not tolerate playing about with zero in the denominator or with infinity as a number, as used to be the case in many books on Calculus of those days. I taught this subject to the senior Intermediate class and to the B.A. and B.Sc. classes by the modern methods. In all seriousness I told my students not to use any book on Calculus, for theory at any rate, as the treatment of the subject in the then existing books was inclined to be incorrect. I would give them notes, if necessary, and plenty of examples in accordance with the Cambridge practice. I doubt very much whether I succeeded in rousing sufficient interest in my rigorous methods, specially in the Intermediate class. New ideas take a long time to soak in, but I did not despair. For nearly two months, I hammered into them what 'limit' and 'continuity' meant. At first their notions were hazy, but in the end they mastered the rigorous definitions to my satisfaction.

After a month or so, some of the students said to me, "If you are not satisfied with any of the existing books, why don't you write one for us? A textbook, we feel, is absolutely necessary." Their demand seemed reasonable. I asked them whether they could wait four months and they said they would. This was the background of an elementary textbook on Calculus I wrote for beginners ; but it actually contained my lectures for B.A. and B.Sc. according to the syllabus of North Indian Universities. The Bombay University used to have much of this course for its Intermediate classes. Any experienced Professor would have hesitated before embarking on a project of writing an elementary text book on Calculus. Lecturing in Calculus is one thing ; to write a text book on it, another. But I was young and full of self-confidence.

I had read a number of books on the subject, not only in English but also in French and German. I knew how they introduced those

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new ideas to students in different countries. Anyway, I rushed in where angels feared to tread and by the end of the first term the manuscript was ready. A local publisher undertook to get it well printed in Calcutta; but actually the printing was done in great hurry and was smudgy at places. But the book was ready by the end of January, that is to say, within six months of my embarking on my teaching career! The reviews of the book in different journals were very complimentary on the whole and it appeared as though I had made my mark in the profession already. Some Professors of Mathematics of other Universities expressed their opinion that a book of that kind was a long-felt need in India. At any rate, my students were pleased and that was all I wanted at the time. This book is still going strong and has seen 15 editions in 35 years. It is now sold mostly in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Mysore and also in Pakistan. About 15 years back a British woman Professor of Mathematics examined all the books in Mathematics written in India and I have been given to understand that my book was highly commendedly her.

Pandit Malaviyaji was immensely pleased with me for bringing out a book which had won such instant recognition. It was perhaps the first book written by an Indian on the subject and throughout very rigorous in treatment. Today there are many books written more or less on the same lines; but at the time it was a bold venture. I am doubtful, however, if I have done a real service to the teaching of Mathematics in writing that book. At the time I wrote it, I was more of a mathematician than an educationist. With my present experience of education and knowledge of educational psychology, I would not write a book on Elementary Calculus in the way I did. Yet, most Mathematics teachers are a funny lot. They like difficult books and rather enjoy making simple things look complicated. The virtue of my book on Calculus, I now realise with horror, was that it was difficult both in theory and examples. The books in Mathematics I wrote later are very simple and easy and such as the average pupil would like, but the teachers have no use for them. This reminds me of a story which my tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Mr. Mayall, told of Prof. E.W. Hobson. Every Professor of Mathematics knows Hobson and his two volumes on 'Functions of a Real Variable'. Mr. Mayall was an examiner with Prof. Hobson for the Cambridge Tripos. Prof. Hobson was apparently pleased with one of the examples set by Mayall and said, "I like this question; nobody will be able to solve it!"

The academic set-up of the Banaras Hindu University of those days included no Honours course. A student was required to take three subjects for the B.A. or B.Sc. A student of Mathematics was also

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required to take either Physics and Chemistry or two more Arts subjects. Naturally, the Mathematics course was extremely elementary. On the other hand, the Mathematics course for the Master's degree was heavy. There were two optional papers, and by tradition they had to be (1) Functions of a Real Variable, and (2) Functions of a Complex Variable. My distinguished predecessor, the late Dr. Ganesh Prasad, had established this tradition and I faithfully followed it. In addition, there were four compulsory papers in Pure Mathematics and two in Applied. I was responsible for 5 papers, including the special paper in Functions of a Real Variable. I did not find the students of the final year at all serious. Most of the senior M.A. and M.Sc. students in my first year were mediocre; but there were some two or three bright students in the junior year. I was, therefore, more interested in the latter class. The senior students would not do the homework I gave at the end of my lectures. They expected I should do everything for them. They would merely take down whatever I said. Following the Cambridge practice, I gave them a set of examples to solve at the end of each lecture and checked up on them later. They did not like this. I found that one student who had looked to me quite promising, did not submit the homework at all. When I scolded him, to my shock—he was quite grown up, about 23 or 24—he broke into a fit of weeping. Now, I was not prepared for this. When I tried to console him and apologized, adding all the same that he should try and take his work more seriously, he said, "Sir, you have no idea of our condition at home. I have to depend entirely on tuition to the lower classes. That leaves me hardly any time for the work assigned by you." He must have been frightfully poor, but I could not believe that he had no time at all. Actually, I thought he was a very well read student. Such students are interested only in theory and not in applying it to examples. They are under the impression that the examination questions come, or should come, bodily from the lecture notes. At any rate, I had no intention to enforce discipline on students so ready to weep and gave up the senior M.A. and M.Sc. class as a hopeless job. However, there were one or two good students, and I gave much attention to them. One of them—Shri Tripathi—is still, believe, on the teaching staff of the University.

I was quite interested in the junior batch, who appeared more promising. Some of them were very smart. Also, they willingly submitted to my discipline and did their work according to my requirements. The number of students in each M.A. and M.Sc. class did not exceed 8, and it was possible to know them individually. Moreover, I invited them occasionally to tea at my residence. They

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could see me any time of the day for their difficulties. We got on very well with each other, I was proud of my students in this batch. Two of them obtained a First in the final examination. One of them, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, (now at Ranchi) became Professor of Applied Mathematics in the Engineering College, and the other joined Government service in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as Lecturer. I retained contact with both of them for many years afterwards, and was sorry to hear that the latter had died of T.B. a few years back.

Pandit Malaviyaji kept himself in touch with what went on in the University through some Professors and students who had access to him. Despite his public engagements all over the country, he found time to see whether the teaching work and administration of the University were being done satisfactorily. Once he stood outside my class for two minutes. Since he was only watching my work from the corridor, I took no notice of him and went on with my teaching as if he were not there at all. From this and the various reports he had received, he was highly satisfied with my work. He had had very bitter experience of the Head of the Mathematics Department in the past. The late Dr. Ganesh Prasad was a mathematician of great repute, but he was also a politician of sorts. Panditji and he did not hit it off at all, and there was peace in the University when Ganesh Prasad accepted an appointment in the Calcutta University. Panditji's anxiety was that Ganesh Prasad's departure from Banaras should not have any adverse effect on the Mathematics Department of his University. So when he heard good reports about me, Panditji began to advertise me in highly complimentary language. For instance, he would say to the Governor of the U.P. and other high officials and leaders that he had a Professor of Mathematics who had written a better book than Ganesh Prasad. Since some of these compliments were paid to me in my own presence, it was extremely embarrassing. In fact, some of my colleagues suspected that I had already manoeuvred to get into Panditji's good books! Actually I, seldom saw him. When he expressly sent for me on some occasions, I invariably took my colleagues with me. The fact was that it was hardly possible for any one to see him, as he always had some kind of visitors. He was always in his Durbar, as we used to call it. Some visitors wanted to consult Panditji about religious disputes, others on the politics of the day, still others about parliamentary affairs. He was then a member of the Central Legislative Assembly (corresponding to the present Lok Sabha) and had intimate contacts with a large number of politicians and other important public men. Not that he did not have his favourites, who got on well

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with him by flattery! And it was they that eventually brought him and the University into trouble.

Panditji was a remarkable man. Although he was a hundred percent Congressman and had great sympathy and admiration for Mahatmaji, a large number of Congressmen of those days regarded him as a Rightist, for he was not by nature an extremist in any sphere of human activity. In his love for his country he was second to none, but in the mode of achieving freedom, he cautioned moderation. So he did not always see eye to eye with the Congress party of the day, dominated by Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawaharlal. Actually, he was in the same position, more or less, as Pandit Motilal Nehru, who wanted to take advantage of the existing legislature. In 1930, however, he offered satyagraha for the first time and courted imprisonment merely because a large number of our national leaders found themselves in prison. He had differences of opinion with them; but he was not a coward, and did not want to lag behind the others when the whole country was plunged in the Civil Disobedience movement.

I used to come to Belgaum each vacation. On one occasion, on my return journey after the Diwali vacation, I had the good fortune of travelling with him to Banaras from Bombay. He was, as usual, travelling in a first class coupe, while I was in a second class compartment with my family. I called on him and we chatted for hours. I noticed he had brought his own water with him. When he went to the bathroom, he quietly took his sacred thread (*yadnopaveetha*) and passed it round his ear. Then he washed his hands and face with water from his own special bucket. He would not eat food prepared by anybody except his own Malaviya Brahmin. Arrangements were made at important stations for his bath and food. All this amused me very much. In the Banaras Hindu University we had, in Panditji and Principal Dhruva, two very orthodox Brahmins at the head. The former would not take food or water from or with anybody; the latter had no objection to taking tea even from non-Hindus, but he would not take water or food from anybody other than a Brahmin cook or servant. Prof. Dhruva was also a great scholar of English, Sanskrit and Philosophy; he was a Nagar Brahmin from Gujarat and had worked at Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. Later he had been admitted to the Indian Educational Service. While in Ahmedabad, he came to the notice of Mahatma Gandhi, as he helped Mahatmaji in settling a dispute between labourers and mill-owners. Mahatmaji was much impressed by the personality and scholarship of Anand Shankar Dhruva and when Pandit Malaviya casually mentioned to Mahatmaji the need of a good Principal for the Arts and Science College of the

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Banaras Hindu University, the latter recommended Shri Dhruva for the post. In view of the great respect in which Malaviyaji held Mahatmaji, he straightaway appointed Shri Dhruva in 1921. I am sure that Panditji did a good thing in appointing Prof. Dhruva as his right-hand man in the University. At the time I was there, that is, during the period 1928-30, Principal Dhruva functioned as Pro-Vice-Chancellor in addition to his duties as Principal. He also commanded great respect from students and staff, but, of course, Malaviyaji was more popular.

Ostensibly, everything was going on smoothly under Panditji's leadership. In a big organisation like Banaras Hindu University, one cannot expect the atmosphere to be free from intrigues and party spirit. Matters had not come to a head—thanks to the tolerance and dignified manner in which affairs were conducted by Panditji and Principal Dhruva. Occasionally, one heard something said by a Professor against Principal Dhruva or Panditji. Apparently, there were two groups among the teaching staff—one siding with Principal Dhruva and the other with Panditji. The latter was obviously predominant, the former consisting of only four or five people. When I was sufficiently entrenched in the University, the leaders of both groups tried to befriend me. I was not interested in their politics, but I tried to be friendly with everyone. One of them as if casully asked me what I thought of Panditji. I promptly replied, "What Panditji thinks of me is of far greater importance than what I think of him." This settled the question, and nobody tried again to involve me in group politics. I hardly came in contact with Principal Dhruva ; but we used to meet occasionally in the Professors' club. He once casually remarked in the club in the presence of all my colleagues that Mr. Pavate was the one Mathematician he had ever met who had common sense. I protested that mathematicians must necessarily have common sense by virtue of their training and discipline. To this he answered with examples of two outstanding North Indian mathematicians who were notorious for their politics. One was a Hindu and the other a Moslem. They were well known to the academic world of those days in India.

The social life at the Banaras Hindu University was very pleasant. However, we seldom took our wives to the Club ; for with Panditji as our head, we had to be conservative. The women had their social life by themselves. This, however, did not prevent us from having fun on our own. For the first few months, I hardly participated in the general conversation that went on in the Club. I played some games, badminton among them, and listened to discussions among the members. The discussion was invariably on the proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly of which the late Vithalbhai Patel was

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President. His rulings and the legal views expressed by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru were often the topics of our idle talk. Sometimes, there were discussions on topics related to Philosophy, Archaeology, Ancient Indian History and even Forestry. Being still all but innocent of our country's politics, I could contribute little to the discussion. One Dr. Maitra, a brilliant Professor of Philosophy, used to dominate the discussions, and I thought he talked about things from a very high pedestal. It was becoming clear to me that I would not enjoy Club life if I were to remain a mere listener. So I tried to introduce in our conversation topics of a lower gravity, which sometimes might even appear frivolous. We all sat in a circle in front of the Club after our games. When I introduced frivolity in the conversation I found the other members of the Club not only enjoyed it but some of them tried to beat me at my own game. From that time onwards, there were no discussions on high politics, philosophy and ancient Indian history any more. I had practically changed the whole atmosphere of the Club. Of all persons, I had thought Dr. Maitra was the most learned and incapable of coming down from his pedestal even in the Club; but to my surprise he was one of my first converts. Another member who helped me in changing the general atmosphere was Mr. Sipahimalani, a lecturer in Economics. He was extremely witty and quick at retort. We together succeeded in introducing a lighter vein in the life of the Club, so everyone could forget that he was a learred Professor. In January, 1930, I gave a dinner to the Club, consisting of about 100 members, on the occasion of the birth of my first son, Kashinath. There were also a few guests. Sir C.V. Raman happened to be at the party. There were speeches, and Dr. Maitra referred to the year and a half of my stay in Banaras as the "Pavatean Era". Dr. Raman asked what was meant by that. Another speaker explained it as the period in which every one felt younger and happier. Anyway, I can say I enjoyed myself thoroughly during that time.

The teachers came to the Hindu University from all parts of India—from Kashmir to Cape Camorin and from Karachi to Shillong. Talking in terms of the present-day problems, there was complete 'national integration' on the University campus. There was not a single occasion when I felt I was far away from my home. We were three from North Karnatak, and about five from Maharashtra. For social purposes, the Maharashtra and Karnatak families formed one unit, without consideration of caste or creed. My next-door neighbours were a Sikh from the Punjab, Professor Gurumukh Singh, on one side, and a Bengali on the other. My wife was on the best of terms with the other women on the University campus. I can never forget the

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goodwill and generosity shown by these friends. When our first child was coming, I had made arrangements in a local maternity home. Unfortunately, the time came a month earlier than we, in our inexperience, expected. According to plan, some of my relations were to arrive in a week. There were only three of us at home—my wife, myself and an eight-year-old niece. It was night time when the pains came, and neither of us knew what was to be done. Early morning, as there was no woman doctor near about, we sent for a nurse. She said the baby would arrive in an hour or two. It was not possible at that stage to remove my wife to the maternity home; in fact, the lady doctor in charge of the home was out of station. So I explained the position to Prof. Gurumukh Singh. His wife had enough experience of these matters, being the mother of five or six. She came immediately to our house and, with the nurse's help, handled the delicate job. Five days afterwards, my relations came and there was no more worry. Till then, Mrs. Singh looked after her. Our Maharashtrian friends also helped us, particularly in the way of food. We all just felt like one family on the Campus.

A Convocation at the Banaras Hindu University is a very pleasant function—at least it was at the time. It was not an imitation of the other Universities in India, which followed, more or less, the British pattern. The programme began with beautiful hymns in praise of Saraswati. An atmosphere of old universities, like Takshashila and Nalanda, was imported with the well-known advice of Taitareya Upanishat. On other occasions, such as laying a foundation, the programme began with the singing of the university anthem "मधुर मनोहर, अतीव सुंदर, यह सर्वविद्या की राजधानी।" This was the first line and meant, "This beautiful and lovely University is the capital of all branches of learning." The University was indeed beautiful and lovely. The white dress of its Vice-Chancellor, immaculate from head to foot, was not only a symbol of the purity, beauty and spotlessness of the University, but also of the Hindu culture. The University was built with funds collected from all over India, and its teaching staff and students came from all parts of India. Thus it was, in a way, a centre of Hindu culture and traditions; but its Engineering College and the Departments of various branches of Pure and Applied Science were intended to meet the demands of modern India. There used to be two British Professors on the staff of the Engineering College. Panditji used to appoint them with the sole purpose of seeing that the engineering degrees were kept as high as those of London University.

Pandit Malaviyaji was a true patron of learning. Like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he picked up talent from all parts of India, without worry-

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ing about their caste, creed or language. In fact, the best men in the intellectual field used to gravitate towards Malaviyaji. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnath Saha and Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar used to come to Banaras and see Panditji as often as they could. My own first acquaintance with them was in Banaras. Sir C. V. Raman and Dr. Meghnath Saha were members of the Mathematics Board of which I was convener.

In North India, the ancient Holi celebrations still continue on a large scale at the advent of Spring. On that day everybody has the right of throwing coloured powder or slinging coloured water on others, however high and mighty they may be. Students and teachers moved from house to house indulging in this custom. They came to my house and made an end of my shirt and dhoti. Not content with this, they asked me for some foreign clothes for the bonfire. I had the dinner jacket I had made at Cambridge at the time of taking my degree. This had cost me 7 guineas (about Rs. 100) but I thought I would have no occasion to use it in India. So I quietly passed on the whole suit to them. They then proceeded to Principal Dhruva and, in the process of sprinkling coloured powder, tore his shirt. He was visibly annoyed. When they asked him to give that shirt for the bonfire, he said, "No. I'll keep it as a souvenir of our culture when I retire from here !"

There is one incident which I must mention before closing this account. I have never been snubbed by anybody in my life so effectively as by the Registrar of the University—Shri S. K. De, apparently without his knowing it. He was an old man working in an honorary capacity, but had been Professor of Mathematics in Bengal. He was a good but colourless man. The examination papers used to be set several months before the actual examination. The Registrar used to get them printed at some place only known to himself, but one year there was something wrong with one of the B.A. Mathematics papers, and I was asked to reset it in a day. The internal paper setters and examiners were not paid for this work, and it was pure labour of love. I undertook this additional work cheerfully and handed over the paper within the stipulated time. The Registrar had not a word of thanks for me for my pains. In a desperate effort to fish a compliment, I quietly said, "De Babu, you really work very hard during the examination season. Look at this, you had actually to get a new paper set in Mathematics." I had hoped he would take the hint and say that the extra work had, as a matter of fact, fallen on me. But he was not the man to say it. He simply noted, "We all have to do our duty by the University." I did not quite see what work *he* had done in this connec-

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tion. So I said, sarcastically, "Oh, what is my part in the job compared with yours ?" But, my God ! he took it at its face value and quickly replied, "Why, even a pin has its uses." I thought it served me right for trying to fork out a word of thanks from a Babu.

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CHAPTER EIGHT:

appointment under Bombay government

We have seen how unexpected and strange were the circumstances in which I came to be appointed in the Banaras Hindu University; but my appointment, in 1930, to the administrative branch of the Bombay Educational Service Class I, was even more unexpected. As an old student of Karnatak College, I was known to some two or three British Principals of colleges in the Bombay Presidency. One of them, Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, was very fond of me, as he was of all students who had had a distinguished academic career in any college with which he had been connected. He had occasionally suggested to me the desirability of joining Government service in the Education Department, but I had always pointed out to him that I was designed to be Principal of the new college to be started at Belgaum and that I was not interested in Government service. This argument, however, no longer held good when the college at Belgaum did not materialise and I had actually taken an appointment in Banaras. Mr. Rawlinson was Principal of Deccan College, Poona, and Mr. D. D. Kapadia, Professor of Mathematics in that College, was about to retire in 1930. He was a member of the Indian Educational Service, and Principal Rawlinson was anxious to have me in his place.

The Educational Service was, at the time, divided into three branches in the main—the Indian Educational Service, the Bombay Educational Service, and the Subordinate Educational Service. The Principals, Professors and Educational Inspectors were in the Indian Educational Service, while the Lecturers in colleges, Headmasters of Government Secondary schools and District Inspecting Officers were in the Bombay Educational Service. The Subordinate Service included a large variety of teaching and inspecting posts with different pay scales. The Assistant Lecturers in Government Colleges used to be in the scale of Rs. 150-250 (later changed to Rs. 160-10-250),

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while the Assistant Teachers and inspecting Officers used to be in the scale of Rs. 70-200. Of course, there were selection grades for each service. Thus, the I. E. S. officer was in the scale of Rs. 400-1250 with two selection grades leading to Rs. 1,750; the Bombay Educational Service was in the scale of Rs. 250-650 with a selection grade to Rs. 800; and the Subordinate Service in the collegiate branch had a selection grade of Rs. 250-10-350, while the assistant teachers in Secondary schools and Subordinate Inspecting Officers had a selection grade of Rs. 210-10-350. This was all that the Educational Department had to offer to persons with good academic qualifications, in those days.

At the time I came on the scene, recruitment to the Indian Educational Service had been discontinued, as a result of Education being a 'transferred' subject (under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1920) under the control of an Indian Minister of Education. In its place the Government of Bombay intended to have a superior Provincial Educational Service, more or less on the lines of the I. E. S. Till the introduction of such a cadre in the Educational Service, special temporary posts were created against the I. E. S. vacancies, on suitable initial salaries. But those were days of 'financial stringency' and retrenchment. The Government of Bombay, therefore, decided to abolish the I. E. S. post which Prof. Kapadia was vacating and to create a B. E. S. post against it, despite the recommendation of Principal Rawlinson to create a special temporary post against the I. E. S. vacancy and to offer it to me. So, the question of recruiting me in the I. E. S. vacancy in the Deccan College did not now arise at all. While Mr. Rawlinson was terribly disappointed, I forgot all about it.

Towards the end of February 1930, however, I received an unexpected telegram from the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, that I should appear for an interview for the post of Educational Inspector. In January, 1930, the post of Educational Inspector, Central Division had been advertised. I had not seen the advertisement, but a friend of mine had suggested that, since it was an I. E. S. vacancy, I had better apply for it. Accordingly, I had written to the D. P. I. that, if the I. E. S. post of Professor of Mathematics in the Deccan College was finally retrenched, I might be considered for the I. E. S. vacancy of Inspector of Schools which was then advertised. This had been done to please my friend, and I had clean forgotten it till the said telegram was received. I did not not know the designation of the post advertised. But I knew that it was some sort of a post of Inspector of Schools, which required a good deal of touring. It was

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and I thought I would be a misfit even if they offered me the job. I did not expect that my casual letter to the D. P. I. would be taken by him as a regular application. When I was asked to appear for an interview in Bombay, I consulted my wife, and she was even more opposed to my taking up any administrative post. Ordinarily, I would not have taken the trouble of making the journey to Bombay and that too at my own cost. However, I had a meeting of examiners at the Bombay University at about the same time and I thought it might be fun to present myself for the interview. I was quite sure in my mind that they would not give me such a responsible post without any sort of administrative experience. Why, about the same time, the Bombay University visiting committee for the proposed Belgaum College, under Principal H. Hamill of Elphinstone College, had observed that, although Mr. Pavate was a man of undoubted ability, he had no administrative experience to qualify him to be the head of the college!

At that time, there was no Public Service Commission. According to the recruitment rules, all direct recruits to the Bombay Educational Service, were appointed by Government on the recommendation of a selection committee consisting of the Secretary to the Education Department, the Director of Public Instruction and a senior Principal of a Government College. I had no idea at the time what role the Secretary to the Education Department played in the Department of Education. He was actually a senior officer in the I. C. S. My impression was that the D. P. I. was all in all in the educational administration of a province, and it had been so till 1921, when, under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, the leadership in education passed from the D. P. I. to the Education Minister. At the time of my interview for the post of Educational Inspector, Maulvi Rafiuddin was the Education Minister.

There were five educational divisions in the Bombay Presidency, in those days, for the purpose of administration—Sind (Karachi), Northern (Ahmedabad), Bombay, Central (Poona) and Southern (Dharwar). Each division had from four to seven districts in it. The Educational Inspector was the educational head of the division in so far as the administration of Primary and Secondary education was concerned. Since it was an important administrative post, one of the five posts was generally reserved for a Moslem. The post advertised had been vacated by a Moslem I. E. S. officer—Mr. J. S. Kadri, who had just retired. This explains why about 9 or 10 out of the 15 candidates called for interview were Moslems. Some of them wore long white beards and had come from all provinces of India—Punjab, U. P.,

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Bihar, Madras and, of course, Bombay. The 5 or 6 Hindus including me naturally thought there was no chance for any of us, as the Moslem Minister would insist on recruiting a Moslem for the post. In any case, I was an indifferent candidate, having gone to Bombay for examination work. The selection committee consisted of Mr. R. B. Ewbank, I. C. S. (Chairman), Mr. R. H. Beckett (D. P. I.) and Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Deccan College, Poona. Of these, Mr. Rawlinson was the only person I knew. He had a high, perhaps an exaggerated, opinion of my abilities and, attainments. So I thought that, Mr. Rawlinson might insist on my selection. At the same time, I had misgivings about my ability to hold an administrative post without any experience in that line.

When my turn came, I appeared before the committee in a perfectly indifferent manner. All the questions were asked by the Chairman, Mr. Ewbank. He asked me what I did at Cambridge and Banaras. He also incidentally asked what experience I had of Secondary education. I answered I had none at all except that I had gone through a Secondary course in India and that I had, just out of curiosity, seen a few schools in England, France and Germany. To this he said, "How do you expect, then, to be appointed to such a responsible administrative post?" My reply was immediate. "I do not expect it at all. In fact, I do not want it. As I had some work with Bombay University, I thought I might as well look in." They all laughed at this frank and candid reply. There were a few more questions of a general nature before they let me go. My impression after the interview was that they had already fixed up somebody and that the interview was a routine formality. Of course, I could not blame them for not selecting me, as I had no claim of any kind for the post. This was the state of my mind when the interview of all the candidates was over and we were about to leave. Meantime, the Under Secretary to Government in the Education Department, who was functioning as Secretary of the selection committee, came and told us that the result would be announced in due course and that we could disperse. He came near me, however, and told me in a low voice that Mr. Ewbank would like to see me again. When I was shown into his room, Mr. Ewbank was alone. He, without any flourishes, asked me if I was in a position to accept the appointment. Promptly I replied, "Which appointment?" I could not imagine that they would offer me the Educational Inspector's post in the superior Bombay Educational Service after all that happened at the interview. I still thought they might be thinking of some Professor's post for me in view of the interest

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shown in me by Mr. Rawlinson. Mr. Ewbank answered it was the Educational Inspector's post. He also asked whether I was under any contract with Banaras Hindu University. I replied that I was free to come any time, as the second term of the University was about to end, and that there was no contract between me and the University. I noticed that Mr. Ewbank was extremely happy to learn that I was free to take it up. Then he said, as Registrar of Cooperative Societies, he was quite familiar with my part of the country, and hoped that I would make a good officer. When he was so informal and so good to me, I opened my heart to him and said, "Well, Sir, I am thankful to you for offering me the job, but I do not think I like it. I am much attached to my subject and I would have much appreciated an appointment as Professor of Mathematics in one of the Government Colleges." He said, "No, we are all anxious that you should take up the administrative post. I can assure you that you have a very bright career before you."

I was not in a position then to understand what bright career was before me. In any case, I had never had any intention of staying in Banaras on a permanent basis. I was very anxious to come back to my province at the earliest opportunity, either as Professor in a Government College or as Principal of the proposed college at Belgaum. Since I saw no possibility of these appointments materialising, I agreed to take up the post and do my best. The post was intended to be in the new B. E. S. Class I which was to be introduced shortly in place of the I. E. S. and the advertised scale was Rs. 320-40-1200 S. G. 1500. I asked Mr. Ewbank to fix me up on Rs. 400 p.m. which was about what I was drawing at Banaras. He promised to do so. Since everything was settled, I left Bombay for Banaras with a heavy heart, as I was forced by circumstances to change my teaching career to an administrative one. I had not the foggiest idea of the prospects that the new appointment held for me. It would be just a leap in the dark, from the known to the unknown.

Mr. Ewbank had told me that he would telegraph my appointment to me within a week and that I should hold myself in readiness to assume my new duties. Several weeks passed and the promised telegram did not arrive. Two months passed and still there was no sign of an appointment. The trouble with me was that I had no friend in the Government circles of Bombay, whom I could consult about the matter. I had no intention to write to Mr. Ewbank or to Mr. Rawlinson either, as it might seem to amount to canvassing. I still did not know what powers the Secretary to Government had. I concluded, therefore, that the Minister of Education might

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not have approved of the recommendation. It was not worth bortheing about anyway, I thought, and forgot all about it. The summer vacation commenced and I left Banaras for Belgaum. From there I went to Bangalore, Mysore and Coorg for a month's holiday. It was the beginning of June and still no news. I returned from Bangalore to Devihosur where I proposed to spend the rest of the vacation with my brother. I had still a month's vacation to enjoy before leaving for Banaras. One morning, in the first week of June, I received a letter from the D. P. I. to the effect that I was appointed Educational Inspector, Bombay Division and that I should take charge of my new appointment on the 16th. The terms on which I was appointed and the main conditions of service were stated in the letter in the same way as was done in the case of an I. E. S. officer. I was to sign a contract with the Secretary of State for India, in whose name the Government of India was carried on in those days.

Despite Mr. Ewbank's assurance, I had not thought I would be appointed to the post and had left my personal effects in Banaras. I had not taken leave of the University officers and my many friends. The Bombay Government had hardly given me two weeks' notice. Moreover, I did not know what the new job was like. So I went to Dharwar, the nearest headquarters of a Divisional Inspector of Schools. Mr. K. S. Vakil, I. E. S., who was the Educational Inspector of the Southern Division, was very pleased to see me and congratulated me. He also gave me some idea of the duties and responsibilities attached to the post. When he found me still wavering between Banaras University and the Government appointment, he told me that the new post was quite nice and that I would grow to like it in course of time. Then I saw some Professor friends of the Karnatak College. They all said that the post was in the highest cadre of service in the Education Department and that I would do well to accept it. Then only did I finally make up my mind to plunge into the educational hierarchy. Prof. D. P. Patravali, of the Mathematics Department of Karnatak College, drafted my reply to the D. P. I.'s appointment letter. I sent a letter to Shri S. K. De resigning my post at Banaras and asked him to hold charge of the post until a new Professor was appointed.

In my mind, I was quite sure that this post had been thrust upon me by Principal Rawlinson. He had had an eye on me right from the time I obtained a first at Cambridge. At that time he was on leave in England and when he read my name in the list of Wranglers, he wrote me a letter of congratulations and said that he would do all he could to help me join the Educational Department

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as Professor. Even though I wrote back that I was not likely to join Government service owing to my commitment with the K. L. E. Society, he did not give up his efforts. This was typical of the man. Many of his students in Deccan College had also told me that he was extremely kind to his students. Later on, when the confidential box of the D. P. I's office, Poona, was in my charge, I saw some of the letters Mr. Rawlinson had written to Mr. Beckett. They made me blush! One of his letters contained, "Mr. Pavate is one in a thousand. Do not lose him. He is one of the greatest mathematicians of our time." There are many Professors and Principals of colleges who are always anxious to help their students. That is particularly so in England, but I thought Mr. Rawlinson was about the limit.

Thinking that I owed this appointment to Mr. Rawlinson, I called on him in Poona on my way to Bombay. When I thanked him, he gave me a totally different account of the affair. He said he had been quite opposed to my appointment as Educational Inspector. "I told the other members of the Selection Committee", he went on, "that they were wasting a young mathematician on an administrative job. If we can't fix him up as a Professor of Mathematics, let him remain where he is. The Educational Inspector's post is hardly the job for his attainments." To this Mr. Beckett (the D.P.I.) had replied that the Inspector's post was more important from the nation-building point of view than all the Professors' posts put together. In any case, he concluded I had to thank Mr. Ewbank and Mr. Beckett for my appointment and not him.

I later learnt that many senior Headmasters of Government Secondary Schools had complained to the D.P.I. that, by my appointment as Educational Inspector, he had deprived them of a legitimate chance of promotion. To that Mr. Beckett was reported to have said, "Do you know his qualifications? Do you know what prizes and scholarships he has won in India and Cambridge? I want men of intellectual eminence for these administrative posts."

Mr. Beckett himself had been a Professor of Chemistry at Nagpur. He had also served as Inspector of Science teaching and of European schools in the old Central Provinces. He was anxious that the Divisional Inspectors of schools should be men of outstanding qualifications and also leaders in modern educational theory and practice. The qualifications laid down in the recruitment rules for such administrative appointments were: "A candidate should have an Honours degree of a British University and should have had a degree or diploma in education." I had an Honours degree all right, but no

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diploma or degree in Education. To cover cases like mine, the rule was subsequently changed by adding the word "ordinarily" before the words "a degree or a diploma in Education."

The undue delay in passing my orders of appointment calls for some explanation. They were all very anxious, apparently, to issue an appointment order within a week or so after the interview as Mr. Ewbank had promised me. Yet they had taken nearly 3 months!

As I have said above, this vacancy was of a Moslem incumbent of the post. When the papers were put up to the Minister of Education, Mr. Rafiuddin Moulvi, he did not, naturally, accept the proposal. He wrote back saying that he had no objection to Mr. Pavate's appointment; he, however, suggested that two posts be created instead of one for the two divisions of Marathi-speaking areas and the other post be given to a Moslem. He also suggested that the Headmaster of the Anglo-Urdu High School, Poona, be appointed to it. Now, it happened that this Headmaster was a relation of the Minister. The European officers would not agree to such a nepotic proposal. The D. P. I. carefully thought it over and replied that he was agreeable to creating two posts of Divisional Inspector, but then he recommended Mr. Syed Nurullah for the second post. Mr. Nurullah had had a brilliant academic career. He had stood first in the B. A. examination of the Allahabad University and then taken the M. A. degree in Education of the Leeds University. He was also a Barrister and had been working for about six months as Labour Officer under the Bombay Government. The Education Minister took a long time to consider this proposal, but at long last agreed, and thus the two appointments were simultaneously announced. I was put first and Mr. Nurullah second.

Mr. Beckett deliberately appointed two young men to those administrative posts. The reason was that the Hartog Committee (an auxiliary committee appointed by the Simon Commission, 1929) had made strong comments on the position obtaining in the educational administration in India. With the discontinuance of direct recruitment of well-qualified European officers to the I. E. S., there were no men with adequate qualifications and experience to hold important administrative posts. Since the Provinces had not yet created a Class I service corresponding to the old I. E. S., well-qualified men were not appointed to the Educational service in the administrative branch and hence there was a great hiatus between the I. E. S. officers and the provincial officers. The Hartog Committee had expressed grave doubts about the availability of suitable officers to hold the keyposts of Dy. D. P. I. and D. P. I. in course of time. To allay these fears,

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Mr. Beckett pressed for the appointment of well-qualified young men as Educational Inspectors in the B. E. S. Class I which was to be created shortly in the Bombay Presidency. That is how Mr. Nurullah and I unexpectedly joined the administrative branch of the Bombay Educational Service Class I. Incidentally, both of us were Kannada men in charge of Bombay and twelve Marathi districts of the old Bombay Presidency. Mr. Nurullah hailed from South Canara. In those days, the mother-tongue of an officer did not matter at all. In fact, sound and impartial administration required men from other provinces. At least that was the feeling in those days !

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CHAPTER NINE :

training and experience (1930-1937)

The grinding experience of a young administrative officer, specially after enjoying the free life of a Professor, is fairly gruesome. To be glued to an office chair from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. is no picnic. Yet one has to get accustomed to such things in life. A college teacher is a free bird. He can fly as high as he likes in intellectual pursuits without anybody tugging at his strings. Nobody seems to bother as to what he does or does not do. Life in an office is different.

The office of the Educational Inspector, Bombay division, was located in the (old) Secretariat building on the ground-floor. The various Departments of Government and offices of the Ministers and Executive Councillors were on the upper floors. The Education Secretary to Government was on the 3rd floor. The Heads of Departments, like the D.P.I., were, however, in Poona. As directed by the D.P.I., I reported to duty on the stroke of 11 on 16th June. The office had a clerical strength of sixteen, and there were two important subordinate officers in charge of the office. One was the Head-clerk and the other was the personal assistant to the Educational Inspector. The latter was a gazetted officer in B. E. S. class II. My first duty was to receive the personal assistant, the head-clerk and the other clerks in my offiec and say a formal "How do you do?" They introduced themselves to me as being in charge of this or that section. One said he was in charge of the Secondary section, another in charge of the Primary section, and the third in charge of accounts. Although I had no precise notion of what they were doing and what exactly I was to do about their work, I realised that through these clerks and officers I was to administer the Primary and Secondary schools within the framework of the rules and regulations of the Education Department. After these introductions were over, some three gentlemen sent in their cards. One was the Gujarati A. D. E. I., the other was the Marathi A. D. E. I., and the third was the Urdu Deputy Educational Inspector. The first

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two were in the Subordinate Education Service, while the last was a gazetted officer. When the Gujarati A. D. E. I. came in, I asked him what exactly the letters A. D. E. I. meant. He smiled, indicating his surprise at my colossal ignorance. He said, "They stand for Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. We have no Deputy Inspector for Gujarati or Marathi schools, but there is one for Urdu schools, because he is a Divisional officer in charge of all Urdu boys' schools in the Bombay division. As you know, Sir, Primary education has been transferred to the control of School Boards under Local Authorities both in the districts and in the large municipalities. Government has transferred the inspecting staff to such Boards, but has maintained a skeleton inspecting staff to assist the Educational Inspector." The Marathi A. D. E. I. told the same story. Both appeared to me to be very fine gentlemen—cultured, smart and knowledgeable. They were at the fag-end of their service, with only 4 or 5 years before them, and it appeared to me strange that they should still be in the subordinate service, drawing a salary between Rs. 250 and Rs. 300 p.m. The Urdu D. E. I. was in a happier position, as he was not affected by the transfer of control of Primary education to the local authorities. Then a District Government Inspecting officer came to see me. He was designated S. A. D. E. I. He explained to me that those letters stood for Senior Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. I asked him where was the Deputy Inspector. He replied that the Deputy Educational Inspector was a gazetted officer (B. E. S. Class II) and that his post had been held in abeyance owing to the transfer of control of Primary Education to the District School Board. On my asking him where the other Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors were, I learnt that they also had been transferred to the School Board. Thus there was only one Government inspecting officer known as the S. A. D. E. I. to look after the public interests in Primary education in the whole District. It all looked strange to me—the S. A. D. E. I. business! Actually it took me several days to remember what exactly these five letters meant. They were quite a mouthful.

Later in the day, when the official calls of the men under me were over, I had a long talk with my personal assistant, Mr. Sui. He was a nice and experienced Parsi gentleman. I said to him, "Look here, Mr. Sui, I have had a talk with all of you. So far I have no idea of my duties and responsibilities. How am I concerned with Primary education? As far as Secondary education is concerned, I can understand where I stand. I have to inspect them and recommend grants-in-aid for them. But what about Primary education? How on earth are we concerned with it if both the teachers and the inspecting staff have

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been transferred to School Boards? Besides, I am extremely nervous about office work. What is the nature of our correspondence with the public and the D. P. I."? Mr. Sui put me immediately at ease. "Sir, you need not worry about office correspondence, etc. We shall do all that. We, however, put up the papers to you for orders and approval. You can read them and sign after making such changes as you deem necessary. You may concentrate on the inspection of Secondary schools. All other duties will be carried out by me to your satisfaction. You need have no anxiety at all. Although Primary education has been transferred to local authorities, we have a good deal of control over them in financial and other matters. You will get to know all this in course of time." This seemed all right as far as it went, but it went against my grain to master the details of procedure or to try and understand the working of the Primary Education Act and the rules framed thereunder. That was all galling to me. I thought that the best way to get on in the beginning was to sign all the papers mechanically without trying to understand what it was all for!

This happy state of mind did not last long, however. Within a fortnight of my joining the new appointment, I had a confidential letter from Mr. Beckett, the D. P. I., that the statistical returns sent by my office were incorrect at many places and that I should look into these figures more carefully. This naturally made me sit up. Actually, Mr. Beckett expressed surprise at these inaccuracies in the statistics committed by my office. This clearly meant that I could not rely on my clerks entirely and that I must carefully check up their drafts. There was no excuse, in fact, for any slovenly or boggled piece of work in my office on the ground that I was a beginner. Mr. Beckett's letter almost suggested the same. This was a timely eye-opener. After this, I not only began to take interest in my work but to develop a certain amount of initiative. In fact, I took immediate steps to reorganise my office, long neglected by the previous officer, who had been in charge of both the Bombay and Poona offices. Since he lived in Poona, he generally left all the affairs of the Bombay office in the hands of an Assistant Educational Inspector who was then in charge of that office under the Educational Inspector, Poona. The first thing, therefore, I had to do was to strengthen the office by filling the vacancies in the clerical staff. When I made the proposal for reorganising the office, the D. P. I. readily agreed and gave me two experienced clerks from Poona. The new Head-clerk, Mr. A. K. Athavale, I got for my office was excellent, although he was not a *persona grata* with the D. P. I.'s office. His power of grasping and drafting was excellent and yet the bosses in the head office had condemned him. This happens in all offices. Mr. Athavale

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Educational Inspector's Office, Bombay Division, 1934

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was a Chitpavan Brahmin. One of the characteristics of Chitpavan Brahmins is that they are inclined to be individualistic and self-respecting. They do not ordinarily tolerate personal insults. It happened that Mr. Athavale had argued about a case, justifying his position, with an officer above him. This resulted in his reversion to a lower grade. When I insisted on a sufficiently senior and experienced Head-clerk in my office, the D. P. I. promoted Athavale again on trial and posted him under me. I found him a thoroughly able, hard-working and straightforward man and soon got him confirmed in the grade. Mr. Athavale was very grateful and loyal to me, and we got on very well together. When he told me the story of his harassment by his previous bosses in the D.P.I.'s office, I naturally had sympathy for him.

I have always stood for self-respecting and straightforward men as against sycophants. That is why I have always entertained a personal liking for Chitpavan Brahmins and I have got on with them easily. Anyway, I had no more trouble in the office with the arrival of Mr. Athavale. In fact, I have a feeling that I learnt my first lessons in office management from Mr. Sui and Mr. Athavale. The former was a God-fearing man and strong on principles. When he did not agree with me on any point, he would politely but firmly say, "Sir, you are wrong. I tell you, you are wrong. If you still think that you should do this, I have no objection. After all, you are the boss, but I tell you, Sir, that you are wrong." These words are, after 35 years, still ringing in my ears. It was my good fortune that such an impartial, God-fearing and firm man was my personal assistant at the beginning of my official career. He was an excellent cricketer, and one of his grievances was that the office work did not leave him time for cricket. Like a true Parsi, he allowed himself the luxury of a glass or two of good toddy once a week. I remember once asking him how he could ever like that sour stuff. I told him I had once tried *neera* tapped only a quarter of an hour before, but that I could not stand it as it was terribly sour. Mr. Sui replied, "Sir, you are not accustomed to it. Sir, it is a very nice drink, I tell you. We mix up some spices like cardamom and it tastes lovely, Sir". One thing about Sui was that he would never forget to include the word 'Sir' in all he said, even though what he said might not be to your liking. He was a dear old man. He dressed in the usual Parsi fashion and radiated cheerfulness whenever he came to see me. And he was sure to come every time he saw that the orders passed by me were different from those he had suggested. He was absolutely impartial and objective in the handling of men and affairs. It is a pity there are not more men of his type.

On my appointment, I had seen Mr. Beckett and asked him for

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his advice about my duties. He told me that, during my first year, I should read some important books on education, on school subjects and on methods of teaching. These books are usually studied by teachers in the training colleges, but since I had no such training, I had to acquire the necessary knowledge by reading. As regards school subjects, I had no difficulties. I had only to brush up my History and Geography. I had also to read some elementary books on Botany. I bought a large number of books on educational principles and philosophy. The study of these books was very stimulating. My main anxiety was not to betray my ignorance on any subject in the school curriculum when I went round to inspect High schools.

Apart from Secondary schools, I had to inspect a large variety of Special schools in the Bombay division. I had no idea of the work done in them and came to know the nature of the work only by actual experience. They were schools for the blind, schools for the deaf and dumb, Children's Homes, Reformatory schools, etc. Until I actually saw some of them, I had no idea that there were effective methods by which blind or deaf and dumb children could be educated. I was, therefore, much interested when I saw blind children reading books, journals and even newspapers in the braille alphabet. The deaf and dumb are taught by lip-reading. Those who are deaf and dumb from birth are unable to speak because they have never heard any spoken words; but once they come to know how to use and interpret the movements of lips, they are able to speak. There were two schools for the blind and two for the deaf and dumb which I had to inspect once a year. Reformatory schools deal with youthful offenders. Children's Homes were meant for children who were destitutes or those who had committed petty offences. The Reformatory schools were meant for juvenile offenders who were to be given reformatory training. In addition to the three R's, they were given training in some trade or craft, which would enable them to earn an honest livelihood on entering the world again. Inspection of these schools for physically and socially handicapped children was a good experience for me, and I took keen interest in them.

In the first year of my office, I took things more or less easy. That is to say, I mostly listened to what the others said. I was very careful and non-committal in my replies. In other words, I was playing for safety. But I was meanwhile reading a lot of educational literature. I was also trying to understand the administration of Primary education and how Government controlled it. I confess I had still hazy ideas about all these matters, but I was trying my best to understand what could be done and what should be done in educational

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administration. The Bombay Municipal Corporation managed its own Primary schools, and Government had little control over them apart from giving some fixed block grants. In 1920, a Primary Education Act for the City of Bombay had been passed with the object of enabling the Bombay Municipality to introduce compulsory Primay education in its area. Actually, not much had been done in this direction. Even in the F and G wards where compulsion had been introduced, it was nominal. Although the scales of pay for Primary teachers in Bombay city were much higher than those in the rest of the Presidency, the staffing was very poor. I used to visit some Primary schools in Bombay city at the end of each year after finishing my inspection of Secondary and Special Schools, but I had little knowledge of the Bombay Municipal schools at least in my first year.

I lived at Jogeshwari and held a Second class pass on the B. B. & C. I. Railway. I must say I did enjoy my trips in the local trains. In those days, there was not much rush in the Second class and I generally managed a nap before I got off at my destination. As an inspecting officer, I was free to go to my office any time during the day. My usual programme was to reach a school at 11-30 a.m. and inspect it till about 2 p.m. and then come to the office. This was the routine, except in May. As the number of schools was very large, the work of inspection kept me busy throughout the year. One day, the Education Secretary to Government, Mr. Ewbank, asked me to see him in his office in the afternoon. This was in my first year, about three or four months after I had joined. I had no idea why he had sent for me. After a few preliminary enquiries as to how I was getting on in my new job, Mr. Ewbank wanted to know the exact result of introducing compulsion in the F and G wards. Now this is a question of educational statistics. How could I, off hand, give the exact figure? Later, with more experience, such educational statistics used to be at my fingers' ends; at the time, I was still a novice. I had heard of these F and G wards, in which compulsion had been introduced some years before, but I had never visited them. Both Mr. Ewbank and Mr. Beckett thought that, as a student of Mathematics, I should be interested in statistics. Actually, a real mathematician would run away from such figures. I was, therefore, in a very difficult predicament. If I said that I did not know or I would ask my office, he would think I was no good at my work. If, on the other hand, I gave bogus or inaccurate figures, he might think I was a bluff. So I thought for a moment and replied, "Not much increase. The F and G wards have mostly a floating population. So the exact increase is not appreciable." When I said this I was shivering in

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my shoes. It was a random shot. Again Mr. Ewbank wanted to know if there was no net increase in the pupil-population in those areas. I repeated my statement. When I took leave of him and ran back to my office to find out the exact position, I noticed that there had been a small increase of about 100 pupils every year, which might as well be taken as the natural increase. As the population in an area increases, the number of pupils also increases irrespective of any effort by the authorities. So, after all, I thought, I had not been incorrect in my answer. At any rate, I had saved my reputation as an officer.

My appointment order stated that I would be on probation for a period of two years and that, during that period, I must pass a test in a language other than my mother-tongue. During the first year, I naturally concentrated largely on my work, reading educational books etc. and it was only in the second year that I started learning Marathi, which was a language of the area where I was working. Unless I passed the test (known as Civil and Military examination in languages) I would not be confirmed. The test was the Higher Marathi, and the text-books prescribed were the Marathi Reader meant for Standard VI of Primary school and a collection of stories written by Hari Narayan Apte. In addition, there was a translation from English into Marathi, a *viva*, and a manuscript reading in Modi. The last was about the nastiest part of the examination. Any sort of official correspondence in Modi was given to the candidate to be deciphered. This language test was common to all officers of the Civil Service—the young I. C. S. and I. P. S. officers, Engineers and so on. One of the examiners was a Civil Servant and the other was either a Professor or some officer of the Education Department. Later, I was an examiner for Kannada at these tests.

Marathi was not a new language for me. Having studied at Kolhapur for 3 years, I understood Marathi very well, but my spoken and written Marathi was not up to the mark. Marathi grammar was my main weak spot. It was difficult to tell the exact gender of a particular word. So I invested in an excellent grammar written by one Rev. Fairbanks, a missionary of Ahmednagar. The translation from Marathi into English was about the easiest part, but the paper also contained a few questions on grammar which were unpredictable. The examination was held in Bombay every month, and if an officer failed, he would have another go at it after 2 or 3 months. Many officers failed several times and, in exceptional cases, exemption used to be given from passing it. I began my study of Marathi in right earnest at the end of my first year. When-

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ever I visited a Marathi Primary school, I made it a point not only to speak with the teachers in Marathi, but also to read the visitors' book which often contained comments in Modi. In Bombay, I had not many opportunities either to speak Marathi or read Marathi manuscripts. I could talk with peons or servants, but that was not the best Marathi. But I had two Konkan districts in my charge—Kolaba and Ratnagiri—and I toured these during November and December at a stretch. The staff which accompanied me consisted of an Inspecting officer (the S. A. D. E. I.), a clerk and a peon. I spoke with all of them in Marathi and asked the Inspecting officer to check up on my translation of English into Marathi. I did also a fair amount of manuscript reading. On my return from the Konkan, I sat for my examination while all the idiomatic expressions were still fresh in mind, in the month of January 1932. I passed it with ease. In fact, the officer of the Education Department who was one of the examiners told me later that I had passed the examination as though Marathi had been my mother-tongue. All languages are learnt under some kind of pressure or for some practical use. Our women and children learn any language easily when they come in contact with people speaking only that language. My wife, for instance, learnt Hindi in Banaras and Marathi in Bombay and Poona in a matter of a few months and speaks them with the correct accent. Because we are accustomed to communication in English, we find it difficult to master another language. Actually, I should have learnt Marathi very well when I was at Kolhapur if the regional language had been compulsory. But I took a second paper in English and thought I had escaped Marathi for ever. Now that the passing of it was compulsory, it took me just about 6 months to learn it well enough.

Now that I had passed the language test, there was no difficulty about my confirmation, which came off even before the end of the two-year probation. Now I felt secure, and began to consider myself as indeed part of the Bombay Government, for in those days the bureaucrats ruled. True, education was a transferred subject under the control of a Minsiter; but his powers were limited. The European officers who were at the helm of affairs had access to the Governor, who often 'advised' the Minister to accept the proposals of the Head of the Department.

By this time, some other officers were recruited to the Department as Assistant Educational Inspectors in the first instance and then as Educational Inspectors. The old I. E. S. race was rapidly dying out and their places were being filled by B. E. S. Class I officers. The reorganisation of the I. E. S. into B. E. S. Class I had taken place with

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the sanction of the Government of India, with effect from 1st January 1931. There were no more Special Temporary posts in the I. E. S. vacancies. My position in the new Class I service was tenth. Mr. Nurullah was next to me. All the nine officers above me were in the collegiate branch, so that I was really No. 1 in the administrative branch. Of course, there were still about 45 I.E.S. officers, whose rights were protected by the Secretary of State for India. Meantime, two European officers were recruited—one Mr. S. S. Cameron as Assistant Educational Inspector and Mr. Eric Hudson-Davies as Inspector of European Schools. In those days, the Inspector of European Schools had necessarily to be an Englishman. As the number of such schools was too small for one officer, he was also in charge of the so-called English-teaching schools which were originally started for Goan Christians but were, because of the English medium, quite popular with the other communities. As Educational Inspector of Bombay division, I used to inspect these English-teaching schools in the absence of the Inspector of European schools; but the European schools were in no case to be inspected by Indians. Mr. W. Grieve, the Deputy D. P. I., who was second in command in the D. P. I's office, used to inspect them himself. The post of Inspector of European schools was kept outside the B. E. S. Class I cadre, to enable the Department to fill it by advertisement in Great Britain. It was a contract appointment for 5 years. Mr. Hudson-Davies, therefore, lived in his own world, without coming into contact with us to any great extent. So the position was, even then, pretty clear that the educational administration of the Bombay Presidency would eventually pass on to one of us three—myself, Nurullah and Cameron, in that order.

Mr. Nurullah was in a more advantageous position than myself. He had professional training, being an M. Ed. of Leeds University. He had previous office experience, which I had not. Further, he had a good command over English and, being a barrister, was very clever in argument. Although we were recruited at the same time, I was theoretically senior to him; but that seniority might not count for much considering he was a Moslem as well as an able officer. Earlier in his life, he had taken part in the Non-cooperation movement at Aligarh, was a close associate of Dr. Zakir Hussain, and was generally well connected with Moslems all over India. Since I avoided politics and relied entirely on myself, I lived in the fear that he might some time steal a march over me. And yet we were still junior and young and need not bother about the dim, remote future; besides I had a genuine admiration for Nurullah.

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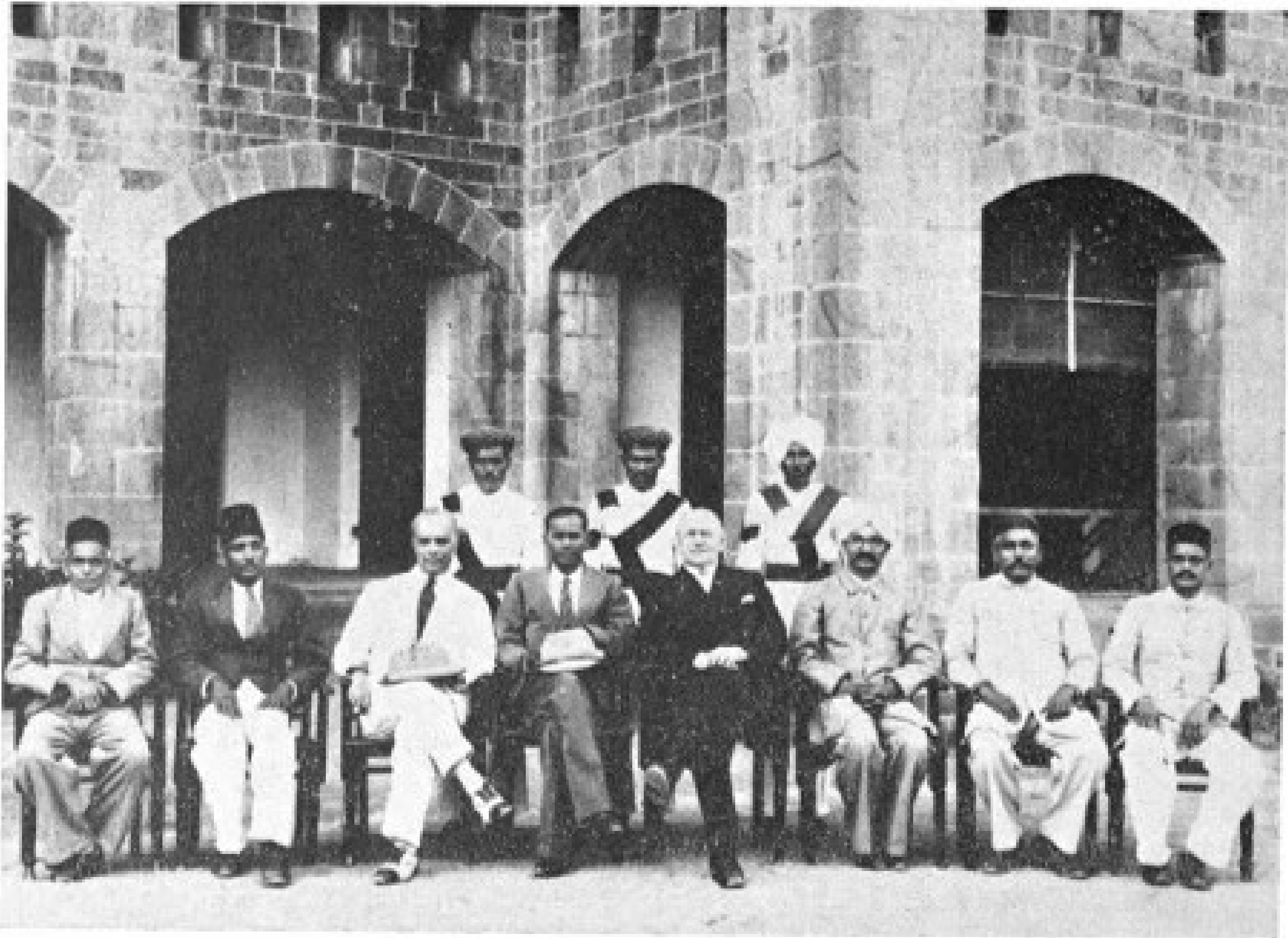

Office of D. P. I., Poona, 1937

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Mr. Cameron's arrival had changed the whole scene. He was an Honours graduate of Oxford University. He had already worked in England as His Majesty's Inspector of Schools for more than 5 years. In other words, he knew his job very well. He was one of the ablest and most knowledgeable officers I have ever met. He was certainly far better than the usual run of British officers we used to have in this country. Within a few months of his coming, he was posted as Educational Inspector, Northern Division, Ahmedabad. The D. P. I. and other British officers of the Department naturally showed him great kindness and backed him up in any difficult situation. There was general expectation that Mr. Cameron would get past me as well as Nurullah and find himself at the top. This naturally created a certain amount of trepidation. While I really did not much bother, Nurullah could not get on with Cameron. Meantime, Nurullah was promoted as Asst. D. P. I.—a post which carried a special pay of Rs. 100 p.m. in addition to the salary on the time scale. The Asst. D. P. I. was in charge of Secondary and University Education in the D. P. I.'s. office.

Nurullah was safe in the D. P. I.'s office as long as the Minister of Education was Moulvi Rafiuddin, who had posted him there. Unfortunately for him, the Moulvi was removed from his office and Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli took over the Education portfolio in 1932. So, Mr. S. N. Moos, I. E. S., who was Educational Inspector, Sind, was brought to the D. P. I.'s office, first as Deputy D. P. I. in a leave vacancy, and then as Asst. D. P. I., while Nurullah was transferred in 1933 as Educational Inspector, Southern Division, Dharwar. Mr. Kambli desired that I should go to Dharwar, as he was anxious to have a Kannada-speaking man as the Educational head of a Kannada division. In fact, he had passed orders to that effect. But I requested him not to disturb me. Hailing as I did from those parts, I thought it might be in the public interest that I should not be in my own region. But since he was really anxious to send a Kannada officer to Dharwar, I suggested that Nurullah, also a Kannada man, could go; he would not have any administrative difficulties, as I would, in view of the fact that he hailed from South Canara.

By this time, I had developed sufficient self-confidence in handling departmental affairs. I treated the schools kindly and did not have any difficulty in managing my division. There was one Inspectress of Girls' Schools in the Indian Education Service—a Miss Twells—attached to my division. Whether she was a Europeon or a Eurasian one did not know, but the British officers practically treated her as one of their own. She had already put in about 8 years of service

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when I joined. She was, in a way, subordinate to me, as her inspection reports were submitted to the D. P. I. through me. Although her office was next door to mine, we had never met in about 3 months. I also used to read her reports and pass them on to the D. P. I. with my remarks. To all intents and purposes, she was a European officer and was senior to me. She did not call on me nor did I send for her, as I could have. One day, the Education Minister, Moulvi Rafiuddin, sent for me as if for a chat, as he used to do whenever he had something important to tell me. He casually asked me whether I knew Miss Twells. I confessed we had never met. He was rather surprised and said, "You are her superior, she must call on you. I will see that she calls on you in a moment. You may return to your office." I had never inquired which of us was senior or subordinate. It had simply not occurred to me. At the beginning of my official career, I treated all alike. I addressed even the peons in the 'respectful' plural form. I did this instinctively, as I did not think that anybody was inferior or superior; but the peons themselves thought I did it because I did not know Marathi well enough. Actually, throughout my career, I have never, even unwittingly, treated my peons as inferior beings. My philosophy was that we were all born equal, only each one had his own different rôle to play. "All service ranks the same with God." So it would not occur to me to make a grievance of Miss Twells not calling on me. But the Moulvi had his own ideas. He had lived in England for many years and been tutor in Urdu to Queen Victoria. His manners and conversation were extremely pleasant and sometimes amusing. On this occasion, he wanted to have some fun at the cost of poor Miss Twells. So, after I left the room, he sent for her. When she was shown into his room, he welcomed her courteously and asked her to sit down. After some preliminary talk about the weather, he inquired what she thought of the new Educational Inspector. She was a shy and reserved sort of woman. She said, "I am sorry, I haven't met him yet." Mr. Moulvi remarked, "Oh yes, you are all very busy people; but Mr. Pavate was appointed about 3 months back. Perhaps your office is far away from his?" Miss Twells truthfully said, "Oh no, Sir, he is next door to me. I am sorry I have not called on him yet." All this was narrated to me by Moulvi Saheb himself later on. So it happened that Miss Twells called on me immediately and we were quite good friends till her retirement from service. She was a most pleasant person and was extremely good and methodical in her work.

Moulvi Rafiuddin was an interesting character. He was nearly blind, and yet he managed to carry on by his wits. He spoke excellent

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English and had a good sense of humour. Whenever he sent for me, he told me stories of the British society and his adventures in England. The British officers did not like him, as they suspected that he was inclined to be mean and miserly. During his ministership of about three years, most of the appointments in Class I went to Moslems. S. S. Bhandarkar and myself were the only exceptions. All the same, he liked me immensely and was even proud that he had appointed me. One of the stories he told me against the previous D. P. I., Mr. P. Lorry, is worth narrating here. It is so typical of him. My predecessor in office, J. S. Kadri, was to be given extension of service in 1929. But he had a bad name in the Department for miserliness and communalism. The then D. P. I., Mr. Lorry, was sick of him and wanted to get rid of him at the earliest possible moment. So, Mr. Lorry wrote to Government that no extension of service should be granted to Mr. Kadri, for the following reasons; firstly Mr. Kadri accepts hospitality from teachers, secondly he travels by train without a ticket and claims T. A., and thirdly he is incompetent. When this letter was put up to the Minister, he asked the office to request the D. P. I. to see him and talk the matter over. When Mr. Lorry came, the Moulvi read out his letter and stated that none of the charges were valid. The first charge, he said, was too vague and no written complaint from any teacher had been attached. The second charge was the concern of the railway authorities and no complaint had been received from them either. Regarding the third charge, it was a matter of opinion. In Mr. Lorry's opinion, Mr. Kadri was incompetent; in the Minister's opinion, Mr. Lorry was incompetent. "Both of you," he added, "are in the I. E. S. cadre under the control of the Secretary of State for India and we are unable to take any action against you. It would be better if both of you retire at the same time." Poor Mr. Lorry had to agree to give Kadri a year's extension!

One reason why Moulvi Saheb was considerate to me was that his daughter was under me as Inspectress of Urdu Girls' schools. She was attached to the Central division, and the Moulvi was anxious to extend her jurisdiction to the Bombay division as well and wanted me to take the initiative in the matter. I could have no objection to extending her jurisdiction as there were Urdu Girls' schools in my division. This pleased him. Whenever I met him, he invited me to lunch or dinner. But it was only a matter of form and was never pursued. The Moulvi Saheb was very close and was not the man to throw away money. One day, however, I had a phone call from him: I must have tea with him that afternoon at his bungalow. I hired a

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taxi and spent an hour with him (and some taxi fare) over a cup of tea. It was a good tea, and I thought he had made up for all his previous invitations to lunch and dinner. The next day I read in the papers that he had been relieved of his position as minister and Dewan Bahadur Kambli taken over as Education Minister!

I was a junior officer at the time and it was really good of Moulvi Saheb to treat me so well as he did. Even after his retirement, he continued his good relations with me. His Inspectress daughter was in purdha and none of us had the privilege to see and talk to her. In one confidential report on her, the D. P. I. noted, "I could write nothing on this officer, as I have never seen her." But she was a friend of my wife, and I could get some information through her about the Urdu Girls' Schools, which were out of bounds for me! Some years later, when I was in Poona, the Moulvi invited me to dinner on Id day and I still remember the gorgeous 10 course dinner. Indeed a real Moslem dinner! Many persons including the D. P. I. would not, however, believe that the Moulvi Saheb was capable of that, or, for that matter, of anything less.

By 1933, two more officers were recruited, first as Assistant Educational Inspectors and then as Educational Inspectors. They were Shri V. D. Ghate and Shri L. R. Desai. Both subsequently played an important part in the educational administration of Bombay State during the Congress regime.

I had by now mastered some of the problems of Secondary education. The way in which the various subjects were taught interested me. I used to give lessons myself sometimes. Moreover, I used to organize in my division, every year, an Educational Week, to discuss various problems of teaching and administration for the benefit of Secondary teachers. One thing that made a great impression on the schools in my division was that I was not concerned merely with English as the European officers were. I used to see how the other subjects—History, Geography, Sanskrit, Mathematics and Science—were taught. I visited the libraries and laboratories to make detailed enquiries about the use made of books and equipment by the pupils. By 1933, therefore, I was well in the saddle and had gained sufficient self-confidence as Educational Inspector.

There was a school in Bombay which was meant for young offenders and orphans. It was, more or less, a Children's Home. It imparted Primary education, along with some hand-work, like carpentry. The children were too young for serious manual work. The school was run by an influential Governing body, but because it was a Special school, it was inspected by the Educational Inspector and not

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by one of his assistants. I did not want to upset this tradition, and hence I inspected the school and recommended a grant for it to the D. P. I. I noticed that the Headmaster was a Drawing master, whereas his assistants were much better trained and experienced. But the management was interested in the Drawing master, and the assistants were not at all happy about it. So, I stated in my report that it was desirable to change the Headmaster as he was only a specialist Drawing teacher. The D. P. I.'s office took exception to such a suggestion in the body of the report and asked me to make in future a suggestion of this nature in the covering letter and not in the report itself. Following this hint, next year I made a specific proposal that the Headmaster of this school should be replaced by a better educated person. This case was put up to Mr. Beckett, the D. P. I., who apparently was not happy about it and asked me to see him on 2nd January 1933, in the bungalow of the Private Secretary to the Governor on Malabar Hill, where he used to stay when in Bombay. When I saw him on the morning of that day, he seemd still to be suffering from the hangover of New Year's Day. He started somewhat like this. "What do you mean by recommending the removal of a Headmaster of a private institution?" I replied politely that since it was our duty to see that the school was well managed and well staffed, I had recommended it. He continued, "Why are you against a Drawing Master being Headmaster?" I said, "Because he is not able to supervise the work of the assistant teachers. The latter are educationally better qualified." He hit back, "Oh, a specialist teacher could be Headmaster. After all, you are an Educational Inspector mainly because of your qualifications in Mathematics." This hurt me, after all the pains I had taken to master the school subjects and the technique of teaching them. So I could retort with conscience, "Well, Sir, you are mistaken about me. Since I joined the Department, I have read a lot of books on education as well as on school subjects. I could tell straightaway whether a Secondary teacher was proceeding on the right lines or not in any subject." Mr. Beckett realised that he had made a mistake in being so personal. So he said, "I am sorry, I did not mean personally you. Take my case. I do not know anything except Chemistry and yet I am D. P. I." But nothing could stop me now. "The D. P. I." I said, "may or may not know many of the subjects in the curriculum of the Secondary schools. But surely the Educational Inspector and the Headmaster must know. Otherwise, in assessing the work of the teachers, the latter can fool them. Moreover, you know that in our Secondary Teachers' Training College, we insist on every trainee giving lessons in 3 different

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subjects. If a teacher is expected to teach 3 subjects, the headmaster ordinarily must know at least 3. If the Educational Inspector does not know all the subjects, he can't assess the work of the teachers. Moreover, the Special school is merely a glorified Primary school and can't have a specialist teacher as head." This convinced him that he did not know what he was talking about. So he made a pretence of reading the case paper again and said, "Oh yes. I am sorry I had not read the papers carefully. I was under the impression that you had made this particular suggestion in the body of the report. Now that you have made your recommendation separately, it is all right. I will accept your suggestion. By the way, can I do anything for you?" The last question was merely intended to pacify me, since he had realised he had made a great mistake and exposed his own ignorance. I said simply, "I do not want anything personally for myself, but my office needs to be put on the phone. Kindly sanction the expenditure for the installation of one." He replied, "Of course, the Educational Inspector must be on the phone." Within a week, I got orders from the D. P. I. about the installation of a phone in my office, although his office had already refused it three times. Whether the Headmaster of the Special school was changed or not, I still do not know, but the effect of the discussion I had had with the D. P. I. was to convince him that I was not a man to take things lying down. He realised, in any case, that I was not a 'yes' man.

In April 1934, Mr. Beckett proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement. Mr. W. Grieve succeeded him. Mr. Moos was posted as Dy. D. P. I. and I was transferred to the post of Assistant D. P. I. in Mr. Moos's vacancy. The existing arrangement was continued. The Deputy D. P. I. was in charge of Primary education, the Asst. D. P. I. in charge of colleges, Secondary schools (including Special schools) and Accounts. A few months before his retirement, Mr. Beckett was touring the Ratnagiri District with me. In the car, he suddenly asked me, "Mr. Pavate, you were very unwilling to become Educational Inspector. Now that you have been in the administration for 4 years would you still like to go back to a college?" I said, "Not now, after I have worked hard to learn the ropes. But I still hold that college life is more enjoyable than an administrator's, other things being equal." He said, a little confidentially, "Well, you will be shortly coming to the D. P. I.'s office. Work hard and you will become indispensable to Government. I do hope you will retire as D. P. I." I thanked him sincerely for his good wishes. Mr. Beckett was a typical, stiff-necked Englishman. He would never allow any of his subordinates, including the British Principals of colleges, to take any liberties with him. He

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knew how to keep everybody in his proper place. During his regime of a little more than 4 years, he improved the tone of the administration throughout the Presidency and solved several problems, like the reorganisation of services etc., satisfactorily. He liked one or two people, but took no notice of the others. Even the most senior Principals of colleges could not walk straight into his office. Everybody had to send in his card and go in only when asked to do so. This had a salutary effect on the morale of the Department. If the Head of the Department had his favourites who could take liberties with him, it would have a deleterious effect on the administration. This he knew very well. Mr. Grieve was a different man. He was much too kind-hearted and simple a man, with the result that he was entirely in the hands of some subordinate officers. In particular, Mr. Cameron, who was then in Poona as Educational Inspector, Central Division, had a tremendous influence over him and became virtually the boss of the whole show as far as the administrative matters of the division were concerned. Cameron, however, found that the salary he drew in B. E. S. Class I was inadequate. So he resigned his regular post and was reappointed on a contract basis for 5 years.

The post of Assistant D. P. I. proved an excellent opportunity for me. Apart from set duties in connection with Secondary education, accounts etc., the Asst. D. P. I. was the office boss. He had to see that all the files moved without any delay and all the clerks and superintendents worked properly.

By the time I came to Poona I was well acquainted with the problems of Secondary and Special schools. I also had a broad idea of the Primary education problems, though I was not yet initiated into the mysteries of Primary education rules and regulations and the financial relations of the Local Authorities with Government. The Deputy D. P. I. usually dealt with such problems of Primary education, as they were of a technical nature and involved legal rights. I took my duties of Assistant D. P. I. seriously. I was afraid the D. P. I. would be watching how I shaped and might at the earliest opportunity push me off in favour of Cameron or somebody else. I thought, therefore, that my future depended on hard work. There was another Indian officer—Mr. S. N. Moos—in the position of Deputy D. P. I., but he was not particularly helpful or friendly to me during that period. He moved with Europeans, almost ignoring the existence of Indians. All these officers almost treated me as a *buchcha*, which pained me very much. Even a day's seniority would make all the difference in those days of bureaucratic rule. It was just like a Public School in England, where the senior boys look upon the juniors as if of no conse-

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quence. In the I. C. S., a person recruited in 1930 had to address a 1928 recruit as 'Sir'. At least, the European officers were very particular about it. So I could not expect any personal friendship from Mr. Moos. This is not to say that he was unfair to me in any way. In fact, he and Mr. Grieve were extremely fair to me, and even sociable, and I must say they seemed to like me better than the other (Indian) newcomers. Cameron, of course, stood on a different plane. Owing to his earlier experience as Inspector of Schools in England, he could walk straight into the D. P. I.'s office any time and talk to him on equal terms.

It was in such circumstances that I was placed in the D. P. I'.s office as Assistant D. P. I. I went to office at 10 a.m. and left only at 6 p.m. without even a break for tea. The office started at 11 a.m., but I went an hour earlier to attend to the left-over files and also to see whether all the clerks and superintendents came to the office on time. I went round the office exactly at 11 a.m. and the attendance register was taken away at 11.5 a.m. All the late-comers had to sign the register in the presence of a superintendent and to explain to me why they had come late. Every file that came to me was carefully studied by me from beginning to end, so that I knew what I was doing when I passed orders on it. Of course, all cases which were either important or required departure from the previous orders in similar circumstances were put up to the D. P. I. Mr. Grieve seldom disagreed with me or any other officer, for he was not generally bothered about routine matters. Of course, when I had to deal with a case emanating from Cameron, I used to be very particular not to go against him as far as possible. But there were occasions when I had to note against his proposals and put them up to Mr. Grieve. He usually supported Mr. Cameron, rejecting my views; but I did not mind. I had done my duty and the ultimate decision was with the D. P. I. Whatever Mr. Cameron did must be right in the opinion of Mr. Grieve. We all became accustomed to this situation. To be fair to Mr. Cameron, he was capable, industrious and had a lot of guts. He did many things which none of us could ever dream of doing. A student in the Urdu Training College for Women, Poona, was suddenly removed and sent by him, at his own cost, to Bhopal. There were all sorts of ugly rumours about it, with different versions. But Cameron acted as the girl's guardian, ignoring her father, and eventually got her married in Bombay to a Moslem boy entirely at his own cost. On another occasion, he recommended the withdrawal of recognition from a full-fledged High school on some grounds without giving any sort of notice or warning to the school concerned, and got it approved by the D. P. I. in spite of my noting. So, an impression

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gained ground that Mr. Cameron was all-in-all during the regime of Mr. Grieve. I read many books in the D. P. I.'s office, which had a small library containing fine books on educational administration, particularly of Great Britain. We all used to have a look at the Educational Supplement of the London Times which used to contain excellent articles. With all this reading, I thought I could argue with Mr. Cameron on any subject. Once I contradicted him about a certain matter about Secondary schools in England. He said he should know better about the British Educational system. I replied, "That is true. All the same, in this case, you are wrong and I am right." For evidence, I showed him the particular report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. He was silenced, but he was annoyed. Mr. Nurullah had the same experience, but he clashed with Cameron on more occasions than I did. Even Mr. H. V. Hampton, Principal, S. T. College, Bombay, had a row with him and, although he did not win his point against Cameron, as a result of Mr. Grive's backing, he certainly gave a bit of his mind to him in the official correspondence.

The D. P. I.'s office was then divided into six different sections—Collegiate (including technical), Appointments, Secondary, Primary, Accounts and Miscellaneous. There were three Superintendents and two Assistant Superintendents in charge of these sections. Although each Superintendent had ordinarily to mind only one or two sections, there were two Superintendents—Shri N. D. Abhyankar and Shri Y. D. Khan, who were, so to say, super-superintendents. They had enjoyed special privileges for the reason that they had been the mainstay of the office for several years. Shri Abhyankar had been a teacher in a Secondary school in Sind. He was brought to Poona by the previous Deputy D. P. I., who himself came from Sind. In the past, all senior Educational Inspectors were sent to Sind, and the most senior Educational Inspectors eventually came to headquarters as Deputy D. P. I.s. Shri Abhyankar was a very hard-working officer, but in his desire to do everything that the D. P. I. wanted, there used to be heavy arrears sometimes on his table and he came into serious trouble with Mr. Grieve on one or two occasions. Mr. Khan had risen from the lowest rung of the ladder as a clerk, but by dint of hard work and sheer ability had risen to the gazetted post of Superintendent. He had enormous influence with each D. P. I. (European or Indian) and fully deserved the confidence placed in him. Both these Superintendents were very obliging and helpful to me during my early days in the D. P. I'.s office.

One of my most important duties was to control the Accounts

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section. This included the preparation and running of the budget of the whole Education Department of Bombay State. This enabled me to be familiar with all the important financial rules. All the officers directly subordinate to the D. P. I. where required to send their T. A. bills for scrutiny and sanction, and I had to satisfy myself that all officers toured by the most economical route and did not travel without sufficient reason. In those days, there was no fixed T. A. for Inspectors of Schools, and many Educational Inspectors preferred to travel oftener to more distant places. Also they could travel IInd class and claim Ist, as they were not required to certify that they had actually travelled by the class for which they charged. This rule came into force later.

To prepare the budget of the Department was more interesting. Year after year, our total budget was more or less fixed, with no expansion of any kind. If anything, the budget amount was reduced, not increased. This was so because the highest paid officers retired and their vacancies were taken by relatively junior officers. No new scheme was introduced and no additional expenditure of any kind was to be sanctioned. It appeared that the *raison d'être* of the Department was just to keep the existing state of affairs going. The total budget for Primary education was a little over a crore. That for Secondary education was about 30 lakhs and the few Government Colleges cost about 20 lakhs. A few more lakhs were required for administration and other charges. Thus, the total budget did not exceed 185 lakhs. When the budget submitted by the Education Department was accepted by the Legislative Council, I had to get the budget of individual institutions separated and to show the total approved budget for each institution and establishment in a separate statement for the guidance of the officers concerned. All this became, in course of time, pure routine. My interest was only in the figures, which showed that for years we had registered no advance whatsoever in education.

This period of seven years was perhaps the most trying, but also the most fruitful, in my life. I had to learn everything from scratch. The work was mostly dull and mechanical and only partly interesting. But I grappled even with the former, so that I might know, myself, what it was all about. In dealing with men, I learnt to exercise patience and observe restraint. This training stood me in good stead later on. We were then expecting a new Government under the Provincial Autonomy of the 1935 Government of India Act. With the knowledge and training I obtained during the period, I thought I would be able to help the new Government achieve good results in the field of

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education. Of course, my colleagues, Nurullah, Ghate and Desai, were similarly expecting some advance in education as a result of the Provincial Autonomy. They also thought they would be called upon to play an important rōle in the new set-up. I thought I had worked hard enough and wanted to proceed to England on a 6 months' holiday with my family. Mr. Grieve liked the idea and wrote to the Indian High Commissioner's office in London to arrange for my visits to different types of schools in England. Accordingly, I left for England in April 1937, when the Congress Government had still not been formed. But negotiations were going on at a higher level regarding the formation of a Congress Government in all provinces.

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CHAPTER TEN :

problems of secondary education

The Dyarchy in the provinces ended during the year 1937 as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935. The work done in the field of education after the introduction of Provincial Autonomy can be appreciated only if we know the position obtaining before the advent of popular Government in the provinces. In this chapter I propose to explain the position of Secondary schools in the old Bombay State comprising Bombay City, 5 Districts of Gujarat, 11 of Maharashtra, and 4 of Karnatak as it was in 1937. Sind had just separated from the Bombay Presidency, with which she had had a long connection.

1. Types of Schools and how they functioned

There were, broadly speaking, 6 categories of Secondary schools then. They were Anglo-Indian and European schools, English Teaching schools, Government High schools, High schools grant-aided by the Department, recognised High schools which were simply recognised by the Department but not aided, and Anglo-Vernacular schools. The schools in the last category did not teach the whole Secondary course up to the Matriculation. Some of them were grant-aided by the Department and some were not. These schools were inspected by the Subordinate Inspecting officers and not by the Educational Inspector. High schools, whether recognised or grant-aided, were usually inspected by the Educational Inspector. The first two types of Secondary schools, which were few, were inspected by the Inspector of European schools. This officer was invariably a British officer recruited in England. Whenever he went on leave, the Educational Inspector inspected the English Teaching schools in the division, but the Anglo-Indian and European schools were inspected by a

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European officer of the Department. The difference between Anglo-Indian and European schools and E. T. schools was that the former followed a special curriculum of its own leading to the Senior Cambridge and other British examinations, while the latter followed the ordinary curriculum for Secondary schools, with English as the medium of instruction, leading to the Matriculation examination of Bombay University.

During my four years' stay in Bombay, I inspected the English Teaching schools in the city twice. While the general standard of education in most of these schools was very high in all subjects, I used to be amazed at the care bestowed on the correct pronunciation and accents of English words. One of the duties of the Educational Inspector or the Inspector of European Schools was to hold the practical examination of the teachers who had appeared and passed the theoretical part of the Departmental Teachers' Certificate Examination known as S. T. C. (Secondary Teachers' Certificate). They were required to give before the Inspector two lessons, of which one was necessarily to be a lesson in English. And in the English lesson what mattered most was correct pronunciation and accent. I was to hold such an examination of a Goan girl teacher who had failed in the practical part twice already. The previous Inspector of European schools was Mr. A. C. Miller and, like all other British officers in the Department, used to fail a candidate if there was even a single error in pronunciation or accent. This particular girl teacher used to tremble before the Inspector. The Principal told me her story and requested me to be a little sympathetic. I said I was not a stickler for precision of accent and that, as a matter of fact, I was not certain about my own pronunciation or accent. After watching her two lessons, I told her that she had passed. She almost danced with joy! English teaching schools were not the only Secondary schools to be so particular about English pronunciation and accent. The others also, particularly High schools run by the Parsees, used to pay much attention to the quality of spoken English, which meant, to a large extent, correct pronunciation of words and proper intonation. Of course, it is desirable that we in India should be able to speak English or any other language with the correct pronunciation and accent, but to expect that Indians should be able to speak English as well as Englishmen, was unreasonable. Yet, that was the hall-mark of culture in those days in India! People sent their sons and daughters to England, not for mastering subjects like Science or Economics for which there was no adequate provision in India, but for enabling them to speak English with the correct accent. I know of many

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students who were my contemporaries in England, who had no academic career worth mentioning but all the same were placed on their return home, in very high positions on their ability to speak English with ease and the right intonation. This explains the undue emphasis placed on English in the Secondary schools in those days. Yet, with all the efforts made to teach English correctly in India for nearly a hundred years, I haven't yet met any Indian who can be considered to speak English with the correct accent, comparable to that of an Englishman. Historically, the Secondary schools were started as English schools as against 'Vernacular' schools right from the beginning. For many years, the Bombay University did not examine the candidates at the Matriculation examination in other subjects, if they were found to have failed in English.

Curiously enough, no attention was paid to correct pronunciation or intonation of any other foreign or Indian language. Proper recitation of verses in Sanskrit or Marathi received scant attention. French was taught with our own peculiar accent. I had learnt my French from Paris teachers and was accustomed to the Paris accents. Once I told a French teacher in a Parsee High school that the way he was reading French was all wrong. "Nobody, I said, will understand you in France." In reply, the teacher said, "Yes, but it does not matter, Sir. All that is required is a working knowledge of French." On the other hand, the teachers were required to make herculean efforts to teach spoken English with the correct accent. One mistake in the pronunciation of a word would bring the teacher into trouble. In fact, English had pride of place in the syllabus throughout the Secondary stage. It had at least two periods a day, while all other subjects had, at the most, one period. Before joining the Department, I had seen the European officers, viz. the D. P. I. and the Deputy D. P. I., about my inspection duties, and they had told me that English was my main concern, although I might see some work in Mathematics in view of my special interest in it. Those two subjects were considered more than sufficient for my inspection work in Secondary schools. I had told them, however, that I was interested in Science and other subjects as well. They had grudgingly allowed me to do whatever I liked provided I attached the greatest possible importance to English. This set me thinking regarding the objectives of Secondary education. Are we to go on only producing clerks? How are our leaders in Science, Industry and Politics, to come? If they waste all their energy in mastering English, how can we create interest in them for History, Economics and Science? Rich and privileged classes, of course, could afford to have private tutors and

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governesses to teach English to their children. But what about mass education? How will our people become leaders? Such questions came to my mind from time to time. The orthodox answer to all of them was mastery over English. Without English nothing could be achieved in life. Take any leader of those days,—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Tilak, Gokhale and others. At least half of their popularity was due to their English oratory. Even Mahatma Gandhi was required to propagate his ideas in "Young India," and later in "Harijan", through English, although perhaps he was the only leader who advocated the gradual abandonment of English, at least after the attainment of independence. Anyway, at that time English held the field and I had to bow to the inevitable, but I did insist on the maintenance of a high standard in other subjects, particularly in Science, Mathematics and Geography. My inspection reports contained one paragraph on English, one on Science and Mathematics, one on the other languages, and so on. The Educational Inspector's notes in the past had been almost completely confined to English.

Indian pupils were seldom admitted to the Anglo-Indian and European Schools. The few that were admitted were sons and daughters of highly influential or rich people and were required to pay, by way of tuition fees, twice as much as those paid by Anglo-Indian or European pupils. In this connection, I remember one interesting case. Once Mr. Dehlavi, who was a former Minister of the Bombay Government and was then Chairman of the Bombay Legislative Council, asked Government why he was required to pay also mess charges in the hostel of the European schools at double the rate, for his sons and daughters. He had argued his case somewhat like this. "My two sons and two daughters are in such and such schools. The schools charge tuition fees at double rates. I can understand this because they have to make special efforts to teach English to them. But I cannot understand why they should charge double rates for boarding as well. In fact, all my pay is spent on the education of my children in European schools. Kindly look into this case and see that the mess charges are reduced." Poor Dehlavi! With Rs. 4,000 a month, he could not afford the education of his children in European schools. Yet he was lucky that his children were admitted into European schools at all! This letter of Mr. Dehlavi was disposed of easily by the D. P. I. by saying that special arrangements had to be made for cooking food in Indian style and hence the double rates were justified. Even a Minister of Government had no power over these schools. Rich people who could not get

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admission into European schools sent their children to E. T. (English Teaching) schools. Those are mostly run by Roman Catholics and maintain a high standard of discipline and academic work. This explained the rush of pupils to the E. T. schools in Bombay. Also, those who do not know the local language, find it very convenient to send their children to E. T. schools. They are deservedly popular.

Government High Schools were maintained as models to private enterprise, but they had long since ceased to be model schools. Although the teachers in Government Secondary schools were all professionally trained, the quality of work in them left much to be desired. These schools had generally good buildings, good playgrounds and good equipment. The teachers were well educated and well trained. And yet there was no spirit at all in them. In the past, perhaps, when they were the only important schools in the district, they imparted good education. That was because some of the teachers on the staff of some schools were real scholars. Men like R. G. Bhandarkar had joined the Education Department as teachers. But those traditions had died out. I once paid a surprise visit to a Government High School and went round the laboratory. It had a telescope, small but powerful enough to show the rings of Saturn. I noticed it had a lot of dust settled on it. I asked the Headmaster why it had never been made use of for years. The Headmaster quietly replied that Astronomy was not a prescribed subject for the matriculation examination. It was the examination that mattered, and not the natural desire of every pupil to observe the heavenly bodies! How could such teachers develop the power of observation of the pupils or arouse their intellectul curiosity? The Headmaster had no idea about the role of science in the modern world and how it should be taught. Children love to watch the planets through a telescope, and here was an opportunity for pupils and teachers to do so. Yet they had not cared to use the telescope or even to remove the dust on it. And the Headmaster of the school was a trained Science graduate. This was the plight of Government High Schools.

There were many reasons for the decadence of the Government High Schools which had played an important role in the past. The main reason was lack of appreciation by the authorities of the good work or initiative in an educational experiment shown by the teachers. There was hardly any enthusiasm or life in the day-to-day work of those schools. Mechanical promotions of teachers to higher posts based on seniority rather than on merit provided little scope for deviating from the beaten track. The Headmasters were, by and

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large, jaded and lifeless, waiting for their retirement in a year or two. After all, the tone of a school depends on its head. There was also no element of competition; for the pay and prospects—such as they were—were, more or less, guaranteed by their service rules and it did not matter whether they took real interest in their profession or not. If a teacher is brought up in an atmosphere of meek submission to an antiquated system, how can one expect a modern outlook on education in him? The Educational Inspectors were all in the Indian Educational Service, but were able to do precious little to raise the general standard of education. Some of them had a mania for some aspect or other of education. But they missed the wood for the trees. They were hardly bothered with encouraging Government teachers to try new experiments in syllabus or methods of teaching. Once the Government teachers were confirmed, there was no incentive for them to keep themselves abreast of modern developments in teaching. The motivation of reward and punishment was noticeably absent in schools.

The position of Secondary schools conducted by private enterprise, whether grant-aided or merely recognised, was entirely different. Their existence depended on their progressive outlook and maintenance of high standards. They depended mainly on the fee-income and to some extent, on the grant-in-aid paid by the Department. As against 29 Government Secondary schools, there were 431 High schools maintained by private bodies in Bombay State in 1937. Quite a few of them were motivated by a commercial spirit. Such schools were mostly found in Bombay itself. Like any other commercial venture, some of them were started and run on the principle of partnership. That is to say, each partner invested a certain amount of money on a school and shared the profits proportionally later on. Many of them were owned by Parsees and Gujaratis. Some of them were run very successfully and attracted the better type of pupil. For instance, the Bharda New High School was a very popular one. Bharda and Marzban had started the school together about thirty years before, but when Bharda died, Marzban managed it. When I was Educational Inspector in Bombay, I used to inspect it every year and was struck by the thoroughness and efficiency of the school. Mr. Marzban was then very old, but was still vigorous and active. The school had more than 2000 pupils, still Mr. Marzban had maintained a record of each pupil, regarding his progress, hobbies, health and proficiency in games. The medical inspection of the pupils was so thorough that I have never seen anything like that in other institutions. Mr. Marzban had maintained a special doctor for the purpose and every

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pupil was thoroughly checked by him once a year. Mr. Marzban had worked for more than 30 years in the school and used to regale me with stories of the eccentricities of the Educational Inspectors who used to inspect his school in the past. He was a venerable old man and I had tremendous respect for him. I would ask him what would happen to the school after him. He had put two of his sons into the school. He would say, "They are shaping very well, but my trouble is they will not marry." Then he switched on to vices among boys. He said, "These young men have many vices and I try my best to give them some sort of sex-education. Parsees, for economic reasons, do not marry young like Hindus and Muslims, and the result is that they suffer more than others, from many vices." Another topic on which Mr. Marzban used to wax eloquent was Shakespeare. He was of the view that every school boy or girl must study one or two plays of Shakespeare before leaving school. Actually, his pupils used to present a play of Shakespeare's every year and he was proud of it. This, among other things, meant that a high standard of English was maintained in the school and accounted for the great rush of pupils to the school. In fact, he was in a position to select his pupils, who came largely from rich families. In the Bombay Presidency, the Education Department did not control the upper limit of fees. The only stipulation was that the rates should not be less than those prescribed in Government High Schools. This allowed managements of private schools to charge fantastically high rates. It was not unusual in Bombay for some schools to charge a monthly fee of Rs. 10 to 15. They were never in need of aid from Government and, with the fee-income alone, flourished like any other successful business. All they needed was Departmental recognition. I must say that Mr. Marzban paid his teachers much better than Government did in its schools. I remember he used to give straightaway a rise of Rs. 20 p. m. to any teacher who passed the S. T. C. examination. Though this was one of the best, there were many otherwell-run schools of this type in Bombay.

Another school which quickly came into prominence under my eye was the New Era School. In 1930, when I was just feeling my way as Educational Inspector, Shri M. T. Vyas came and saw me in connection with the recognition of his school. According to the Departmental rules, a school must have a reserve fund of Rs. 30,000 and must have worked for 2 or 3 years before it is recognised. He had started from scratch with no funds worth mentioning ; but he was full of modern ideas. He had just returned from England with an M. A. in Education and was anxious to try out new ideals in his school. I

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asked him what exactly he proposed to do. He said, "I shall pay individual attention. I shall introduce the system of giving assignments in accordance with the Dalton Plan, introduce the Montessori system in the Primary section, and I am anxious, generally, to give the maximum freedom to children to develop according to their own pace." I was much impressed by his enthusiasm for creative work and, despite opposition from my office, I recommended the recognition of the New Era School. Shri Vyas had appointed excellent specialist teachers for various subjects. He had a charming wife who was also an educationist. She looked after the Montessori and Primary sections. By the time I left charge of the Bombay division, Shri Vyas had already made a success of the school, which attracted pupils from rich classes. The real cause of the success of such schools in Bombay is the demand for a high standard of English. People in Bombay, whether businessmen, officers or railwaymen, use English on a large scale and are, therefore, anxious to provide good education for their children in English. This explains the popularity of Anglo-Indian and E. T. schools and also Secondary schools like the New Era. When I last saw Mr. Vyas he was well on his way to be a millionaire—an achievement for a schoolmaster, unthinkable in any other part of the world.

The traditions of Poona were different. Under the inspiring leadership of the Deccan Education Society which was formed in 1884, schools and colleges were started with the avowed object of diffusing education among all classes—rich, poor, advanced and backward. The fee rates were not high and the teachers worked on the principle of self-sacrifice. Brilliant scholars, who often had a first or a second class M. A. or M. Sc. offered their services to the society for a pittance of Rs. 70 p. m. Poor students were given free education. Imbued with missionary zeal, the teachers worked hard not only to maintain an exceptionally high standard of education but also to advance the bounds of knowledge. The Deccan Education Society's New English School, Poona, did pioneering work in this connection. The success of this school inspired other societies to come into being. The whole of the (old) Bombay State was studded with a network of Secondary schools run by educational societies more or less on a philanthropic basis, and there was a steady increase in the number of such schools from year to year. Not all of these schools were first-rate; but many of them maintained a much higher standard than the Government High schools, which practically became superfluous. The Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya, Poona, for instance, was the last word for efficiency.

The teachers in Government Secondary schools received salaries in the scale of Rs. 70-5-200-10-300, while the Headmasters were in the

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cale of Rs. 250-20-650-30-800. Most of the schools run by private societies were not in a position to pay anything like those scales; for their resources were limited. They had no endowments or reserve funds worth the name and solely depended on the fee-income. Government grants were hard to come by. At that time, the rule that prevailed was "last year's grant or one-third of the approved expenditure whichever was less." There was, therefore, no corresponding increase in the Government grant as the expenditure increased from year to year. Worse still, quite a large number of schools were not taken on the grant-aided list at all. They depended on contributions from the public in addition to the fee-income. The lot of the teachers was, therefore, on the whole miserable. Government could do little, as its own education budget was more or less fixed. The provision for grant-in-aid to Secondary schools was of the order of Rs. 12 lakhs for the three areas—Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak. In view of the fixed grants paid to the Secondary schools and the reduction made in the case of some schools on the ground of inefficiency, there used to be a saving of a lakh of rupees or so in the budget allotment at the end of the year, which we utilised in aiding a few new schools by way of token grants and in paying supplementary grants to a few deserving ones. The financial stability of the Secondary schools and improvement in the salary scales in the case of those under private management were some of the problems awaiting the attention of the popular State Government.

2. The Content of Education

There were some academic problem awaiting consideration, which were at least as important as adequate grant-in-aid to schools. Even in those days, we often found occasion to lament the fact that the content of education left much to be desired. The educational system of any community is sound in proportion to the provision it makes to train and equip the rising generation for its particular mode of life. We noticed that all our young men and women were cast in the same mould irrespective of their abilities or interests. Nobody seemed to give any thought to the primary purpose of Secondary education, which alone should determine the content of education. As I was in charge of Secondary education in the office of the D. P. I., I used to write a chapter in the annual report on Secondary education. I raised the issue year after year and pointed out how the content of the curriculum and the methods employed were dominated by the requirements of the matri-

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culation examination. We needed a critical review of the existing system and the formation of a policy more in keeping with the welfare of the whole community and not concerned mainly with the interests of a few members of it. First of all, there were a few pupils in our Secondary schools who were highly intelligent. Because of their talents and their usefulness to the society, they deserved special treatment and a special curriculum. Secondly, adequate programmes and suitable methods of teaching the slow learners were required. Thirdly, for potential technicians, school programmes should lay greater stress on such indispensable pre-requisites as English, Mathematics and Science. Fourthly, there should be provision in the curriculum of Secondary schools for adequate practical instruction (at least for some pupils) in Agriculture, wood work, tailoring, metal work and allied subjects. Fifthly, to prevent overcrowding in Secondary schools, there should be a sufficient number of trade, technical and agricultural schools, for specialised training in particular professions, so that the products of such schools could be absorbed in our industries for minor jobs. These schools are essentially meant for those who are not fit for University education, and the purely academic Secondary schools should be selective in character so that only deserving children should be admitted to them. These were some of my views at the time for improving the quality of Secondary education. I must add that those views were based not only on my experience of Secondary schools in the Bombay division, but also on several expert reports on Education that used to come to us from England and America. The Government of India had also appointed a committee consisting of Messrs Abbot and Wood to consider the problem of vocational education in this country. These reports made us realise the necessity of reorganising secondary education to meet the requirements of our industries, as well as of raising the standard of Secondary education. For those developments we were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the popular Government in the State.

3. The Dual Control.

There was another problem of Secondary education which I thought required urgent consideration. This was the control of Secondary education by the Bombay University through its matriculation examination. This had a long history. Before 1919, the Department of Education held its own School Final examination for those who were anxious to have Government employment after the completion

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of the Secondary course. This examination was, however, not taken by many pupils, owing to the popularity of the Matriculation examination. Hence a Joint Board, consisting of representatives of the University and Government was set up for a period of five years for conducting a Joint School Leaving examination in lieu of the University matriculation and the Government School Final Examination. The first examination conducted by the Joint Board was held in March, 1919. The Board issued two types of certificates, one qualifying for admission to University courses, and the other for admission to the public services. Government, however, accepted both types of certificates for employment in the public services. On the expiry of the five-year period for which the Joint Board had been set up, the Government of Bombay intimated to the University that it was not in favour of the Joint Board continuing to conduct the School Leaving examination, but would be prepared to accept the Matriculation of the Bombay University as a qalification for Government service. This was a mistake. The University, however, continued to hold the Joint School Leaving examination till 1929, after which, under the Bombay University Act of 1929, the practice had had to be discontinued, as the Government of India objected to the inclusion of the provision of the the School Leaving examination in the Act. The objection of the Government of India was based on the fear that the University, through the School Leaving Examination Board, would have an enormous control over Secondary schools. Thus the Matriculation examination became the only public examination at the end of the Secondary school course. This was bad enough, as the Matriculation examination laid a stranglehold on the schools; but what was worse was that the University had the right of recognising Secondary schools for purposes of accepting the candidates to the Matriculation examination. For this purpose, the Bombay University used to send its own Inspectors to Secondary schools which called for University recognition. This happened in the case of schools which were either not recognised by the Education Department or were situated in areas outside the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency, like Goa. Being connected with the Bombay University, I knew very well how these University inspecting committees looked at this problem. Before 1902, the University admitted any candidates to the Matriculation examination. The then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, adopted a new policy in respect of private schools. He directed that every Secondary school, whether grant-aided or not, should seek recognition from the Department and that strict conditions should be prescribed for recognition. Similarly, the Universities could not admit candidates for their Matriculation examina-

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tion from schools which were not recognised. This was doubtless done for the maintenance of a reasonable standard of education in Secondary schools ; but it also brought all Secondary schools under the dual control of Government and the University. For political reasons, the Government could refuse recognition to any schools, even though they might be well run. In course of time, Bombay University made its own arrangements to hold the inspection of Secondary schools for the purpose of its Matriculation examination. The Education Department of the Bombay Government had no control over some of the "Native" states as well as territories like Goa. The University Inspectors (mostly members of the Syndicate) inspected such schools and recommended recognition. This was understandable in the case of areas which were outside the bounds of the Bombay Presidency. Gradually, however, the University arranged to inspect and recognise schools which were refused recognition by Government. This might perhaps be justified in the case of schools which were refused recognition by the Department on political grounds. But even where recognition was refused by the Department for good and sufficient reasons in the interest of sound education, they were recognised by the University. The Department did not pay any grant-in-aid to a large number of Secondary schools, and such schools could defy the Education Department with impunity. If the Department refused to recognise, they could go to the University. Thus, unhealthy competition developed between the University and the Department in regard to recognition of Secondary schools. I often wondered why the University should interest itself in Secondary schools, when it had so much to do in the field of Higher education. One of the Departmental rules was that there should be a local need for the school. When in a small town two or three Secondary schools came into existence and began to compete with one another, the quality of education was bound to suffer. I know of a small town with a population of about 8000, in the Nasik district which had one Primary school and two full-fledged Secondary schools—one recognised by the Department and the other by the University. The representatives of the two High schools used to canvass for pupils openly in the Primary school every year. The Bombay University might have its own reasons for the recognition of a second school in a place where there was already a school recognised by the Department; but those reasons had nothing to do with sound education. I was connected with Bombay University right from the beginning of my career in the Education Department, as a member of the Senate, of the Teaching and Mathematics Boards and of the Academic-Council. When I told

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my colleagues in the University that they were ruining education by their policy, they would say I was naturally holding a brief for the Government. I thought this question would not be solved unless a national Government came into being.

4. The Teaching Profession

The bulk of the Secondary teachers at that time had no professional training. There was only one Teachers' College in Bombay and that was primarily meant for teachers of Government Secondary schools. The teacher, as a professional person, must earn the confidence of the public by his personal ability and integrity, as a skilled and conscientious practitioner of his craft. The teachers must make the public realise that the services they render to the community are highly specialised ones and are such as cannot be given by a layman. Teachers earn the respect of the public only by the way in which they carry out their professional duties. The individual teacher doing a conscientious and skilled job is the only evidence of there existing such a thing as a teaching profession. Training and qualifications are merely outward signs of professional status; what matters is the quality of work.

There were many factors in those days operating against the assignment of professional status to teaching. First of all, the Secondary schools, by and large, were too poor to attract well qualified and professionally well trained teaching staff. A large proportion of them were not even graduates. It was not unusual to find schools in which less than 50 per cent of the teachers were graduates. The leaven of training was noticeably absent in most schools. No wonder, the work done in them was of a mechanical type. Good results were obatined by many schools at the Matriculation examination by soul-destroying methods—reliance on memory and recourse to notes and guide books which contained likely questions with answers, and examination tips given by the teachers. There were many teachers who had their own communal or political bias. This was reflected in their work and conduct in the school. I knew of some schools which, under the garb of religious education, used to instil prejudice in the pupils against other religions or castes. The public expect of teachers, *inter alia*, the inculcation of a sense of values, responsible behaviour, tolerance and respect for others, appreciation of what is just and fair. I could hardly see any attempts made by schools to inculcate in their pupils such values and attitudes.

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5. The Inspecting Staff

Inspectors of schools, including the Divisional Educational Inspectors, could do little to improve the situation. The hiatus between what was done and what should be done in schools was very wide indeed! The Inspectors made suggestions for improvement both orally and in the inspection report. The Headmasters would promise to carry out the suggestions; but actually nothing was done as soon as the Inspectors' backs were turned. The schools were not to blame. They had no funds from which to pay decent scales of salaries to their teachers, or to buy educational aids and equipment. Some of these schools were started by some adventurers to meet the public demand in the locality. Cynics called them 'mushroom' schools.

I was particularly anxious to improve the teaching of Mathematics in the Secondary schools. Very few schools used to invest the teaching of mathematics with meaning or purpose. It was just mechanical playing with figures and symbols. I had met several teachers of Mathematics who were unable to convince their pupils why a negative number multiplied by another negative number produced a positive one. I used to give lessons in schools explaining such intricate points. The hold of Athavale's Algebra was so great that nothing could induce Secondary schools to change it. I pointed out that there were mathematically speaking several mistakes in the book. I wrote an article on the teaching of Algebra, in the 'Progress of Education'. I could recommend several modern books. But Athavale's Algebra, which was written on the basis of books written in the last century, held the field. Independently, Mr. S. N. Moos, who was Educational Inspector of Schools in Sind, also asked the Secondary schools to use more modern books than Athavale's. Mr. Moos started his career as Inspector of Science teaching. He was also interested in the improvement of the teaching of Science and Mathematics in Secondary schools. When Macmillans, who were the publishers of Athavale's Algebra, heard these comments of the Educational Inspectors, they approached me with a request to revise Athavale's Algebra. That had not been my intention and I refused it straightaway. Their agents Mr. V. H. Lele, was, however, not a man to take a "No". He brought so much pressure upon me from my Belgaum friends that, after one year's persuasion, I had to agree. By then it had occurred to me that perhaps the easier way of improving the teaching of Algebra in schools was to rewrite Athavale's Algebra. I took formal permission of the D. P. I. to do so, though our service rules permitted the writing of new books or revision of old ones. Many other Inspectors—

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European and Indian—had done so. But as I was an Educational Inspector, I thought it would be embarrassing to me to see my own book being used in schools. I made it a condition with Macmillans that my name as co-author of Athavale's Algebra should not appear in the book. They agreed, and the work was finished by 1934. It was like putting new wine into an old bottle. Since the schools were attached to Athavale's Algebra, they accepted the new stuff without any murmur. I was happy that the teachers took kindly to many new ideas which I wanted to introduce in the teaching of Algebra.

There was much scope for such work in all subjects. Actually, this was the duty of the Secondary Training College. Some members of the staff of this college did valuable work in English, Sanskrit, Mathematics and Science; but a good deal remained to be done. The most outstanding Principal the Secondary Training College, Bombay ever had was Mr. Hamley who was employed by the Government of Bombay on a contract basis for a period of 5 years from 1925. He was much interested in the teaching of science and mathematics. He advocated modern methods of teaching these subjects in the College, but at that time the College had very few trainees; and of these very few were interested in mathematics and science. Thus the benefit of modern methods in these subjects was confined to a few schools. Mr. Hamley was later on taken by the London University as Professor of Education.

My holidays in England from April to September 1937 gave me an excellent opportunity to see the working of various types of schools. Happily, my family—wife and son—had accompanied me. After spending a few days in Paris, London, Edinburgh and Cambridge, we decided to spend the rest of our holidays at Bognor-Regis in Sussex. My son was admitted to a local school there, and I was free to go round with His Majesty's Inspector of Schools to Secondary and Primary schools with Bognor-Regis as my headquarters. I saw Grammar schools, Public schools, Trade schools, evening classes as well as employment bureaux which arranged to give full-time or part-time employment to school-leavers. I was particularly interested in the development of Modern (Central and Senior) schools for pupils between the ages of 11 and 15 as recommended by the Hadow Committee (1926). These schools provided a humane and general education, but they were different from the traditional Secondary schools, like Public schools or Grammar schools, in two respects. Neither did the curriculum in those traditional schools include practical instruction and manual work, nor did they give a realistic bias to the general course of studies. Just as in the usual Secondary schools,

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English and a modern language, History and Geography, Mathematics and Natural Science were studied in the Central schools; but they were more closely related to the industrial, commercial or rural life. The idea is that there are many children who think, as it were, with their hands and will profit greatly by a method of instruction which follows the natural bent of their capacity. I had an opportunity of seeing many such schools in England. The pupils of these schools could also take the school leaving examination in the same way as those from Grammar schools. In view of the practical courses, these pupils took more time to be ready for the school leaving examination than those of the other Secondary schools. There was provision for the teaching of wood-work, leather-work, gardening, etc. in such schools. The London County Council alone maintained eighteen such schools, and many educationists from other foreign countries used to visit them.

I was also interested in the role of the inspectorate in Great Britain. Historically, the Inspectors of schools were the agents of Government to see that there was an adequate return for the public money spent on education. They were first appointed by the King himself and are still called His or Her Majesty's Inspectors of schools. By their high academic qualifications and seeing the work done in the various schools they became, by a process of "cross fertilization", educational leaders. The dual role of educational leader and assessor is an extremely difficult task. A British Inspector of schools is inclined to be a 'guide, philosopher and friend' to the teacher. He will always wish to make his visit as informal as possible and to give all the friendly advice and encouragement he can to the teacher. Even to the pupils he would say, "You are a fine lot of boys—as good as any I have ever seen." All the shortcomings of the school were brought to the notice of the teacher privately.

Formal inspection of a Secondary school in England would take place once in every 5 years, with an army of Inspectors who were experts in various subjects; but the informal visits were frequent and advisory in nature. Another feature of school inspection in England which made a great impression on me was the lack of fuss and excitement in the schools on the occasion of their inspection. In India, normal work stops at least two days before the inspection and is not resumed till two days after. The teacher begins to give instructions to pupils how to behave and what to say when the Inspector asks questions. They make such a fuss about inspectors of schools in India that, at least in the beginning, I felt extremely embarrassed. The garland of flowers, 'yes Sir', 'no Sir' during conversation, heavy tea or

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coffee according to your wishes in the afternoon, the excellent lunch in some schools (a peculiarity of Bombay and hill stations) to which I was accustomed, were conspicuous by their absence in England. There are good hotels and restaurants everywhere in England, and the daily allowance paid to the Inspectors in those days was about 25 shillings—sufficient for anybody to live in comfort. The salaries of higher grade Inspectors of schools were more or less the same as those of Home Civil servants, and were ordinarily much better than those of Professors. They were well off and comfortable and could assume the role of educational leaders without expecting any entertainment from the schools. How different were things in India!

6. Politics in Secondary Schools:

To provide cheap and good education was the object of many educational societies which came into existence in the last century and the first quarter of the present century. At first, an intense national spirit motivated these pioneering societies. Gradually, other societies sprang up with the intention of spreading education among the backward classes, Moslems, Jews, etc. There is nothing wrong in the attempts made to spread education among different classes of our society by the leaders of each community; but, gradually, some of the schools developed an extremely narrow outlook and a few of them preached, on the sly, hatred towards the other communities. The Government Inspecting officers could not check these tendencies, as no such spirit was shown in the class-room at the time of their visit. Broadly speaking, some schools developed a communal spirit, Hindu-Moslem, Brahmin-Non-Brahmin, and so on. Most of the private schools had politics of some kind or other. A few went so far as to prepare the minds of their young pupils towards highly nationalistic or communal organisations. We may safely say that about eighty percent of the Hindu schools had their leaning towards the Congress party. The brave fight put up by the Congress in those days against the British empire naturally made a great impression on the minds of schoolboys and college students. During the Civil Disobedience movement of 1932, there were Government orders that the schools participating in politics should not be paid the grant-in-aid due to them. In particular, there were instructions from Government that action should be taken against any school which hoisted the Congress flag on its building. Those were days of great commotion in the country—the Congress resolution, declaring independence as their goal, the All-

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British Simon Commission, and then the Civil Disobedience movement. Students and teachers were excited everywhere during the period (1930-35). There were very few Indian officers serving under Government who did not sympathise with the Congress and the Independence movement. One day, in my first year of service, the Headmaster of G. E. Society's C. L. Boys' High School, Dadar saw me for the release of a part of the grant due to his school. I did not know why the grant had been withheld. My P. A. Mr. Sui was, therefore, sent for and I asked why the grant had not been paid. Mr. Sui was an extremely loyal person—loyal to his master as well as to Government. He said that since the Congress flag had been hoisted on the school, the grant had been withheld. The Headmaster, on the other hand, flatly denied that the Congress flag had ever been hoisted on the school. This created an intriguing situation for me. I personally thought that there was nothing wrong in hoisting the Congress flag on the buildings of private schools or colleges. In fact, efforts were made in those days to hoist the flag even on Government buildings. The students of the Wilson College, Bombay, had once climbed up the College building in broad daylight and hoisted the flag. When Dr. Mackenzie, Principal of the College, objected to it, the boys said, "Sir, we have all these years put up with your compulsory teaching of the Bible. We didn't take any exception, because we respected the feelings of your Mission. Can't you in return respect our feelings on this occasion? We must have our flag on this building and you have to put up with it." These arguments naturally convinced Dr. Mackenzie of the depth of feeling among the students and he took no further notice of it. In the case of C. L. Boys' School of Dadar, what worried me was not that the Congress flag had been hoisted on the building but that a responsible Headmaster did not speak the truth to me. At the time, I lived at Jogeshwari and came every day by the local B. B. & C. I. train to Churchgate or some other station where I had to get off for my inspection work. So I passed through Dadar almost every day. There were then no buildings between C. L. Boys' School and Dadar station. Everyday I used to see a huge Congress flag fluttering from the building of this school. Since I was new to my job, I didn't take any notice of it. I did not even know whether the Department had any right to question the propriety of hoisting the Congress flag on a private school. I had seen this flag for at least three months and was surprised that it had not been worn out by the heavy Bombay rains. So I asked my P. A. to go back to his room. When the Headmaster and I were once more alone, I told him

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what I thought of this matter. "I am not in the least worried about the flag on your building; but I am sorry you are telling me what is not true. I have been seeing the flag on your school building every day." Then he apologized to me and said, "Well, Sir, previous officers took a serious view of such incidents and I had to bluff you like this. I am sorry." "Never mind about the past. I should like persons in important positions like you to speak the truth irrespective of the consequences. I see no real reason at all why your grant should be held up; but I am inclined to stop your grant for trying to bluff me. However, do not worry. I'll take no further notice of it." I released the amount and the Headmaster and I became friends later on. To be fair, even the British officers shut their eyes to such trivial incidents. There were Government orders that the Congress flag should not be allowed to be hoisted on public or grant-aided private institutions. But the point was, who was to report such incidents to Government. The District School Board, Thana, had passed a general resolution that all its schools in the District should have the Congress flag on their buildings; but nobody could recognise them as the Congress flags, because the colours had been washed off by the rains! One Educational Inspector tried to show an excess of loyalty by reporting to the D. P. I. on such trifling incidents in the Gujarat division. The D. P. I. and the Government were fed up with him. He was asked to proceed on leave preparatory to retirement by way of reward!

By the time I returned home from my holiday in England, the Congress party had taken over the administration in all the provinces. I was delighted. At long last, I thought, the situation in the field of education had a chance to improve and there would be an end to the stagnation, which we had been witnessing helplessly for years. The following problems of Secondary education, I thought, should receive the immediate attention of a popular Government in the interest of our country:

(1) All Secondary schools should be taken on the list of grant-aided schools to enable them to be well-staffed and well-housed.

(2) There should be a variety of Secondary schools with a practical bias in some and a small number of Technical Secondary schools which would offer an education largely related to industry, commerce and agriculture in a general way.

(3) More Secondary Teachers' colleges should be started to allow each school to have at least 50% of the teaching staff professionally trained.

(4) The professional status of the Secondary schools should be generally raised, by requiring that nobody who is not a second class

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Honours graduate be recruited as teacher. This would necessitate the raising of the salary scale (70-5-200) admissible to graduates. Higher scales of pay should be insisted on in every Secondary school.

(5) The Bombay University should not interest itself in Secondary education. A statutory School Leaving Examination Board should be set up, with representatives of the University, Department of Education and Secondary schools. This Board should hold examinations in all school subjects, and the University should lay down its own conditions for admission. This would, I thought, provide a satisfactory basis for removing the dual control then existing.

(6) The Government Inspectorate should be considerably strengthened. The Inspectors should be men and women of outstanding educational qualifications and leadership.

(7) The teachers in Secondary schools lived largely by private tuition. This evil could not be eradicated merely by passing orders. The raising of the salaries was necessary. Specialist teachers should be appointed in schools in large numbers; then only was it possible to raise the standard of Secondary education. We should also insist on individual attention by reducing the size of the classes. At that time, the strength of each class was not to exceed 36 according to Government rules; but the number was sometimes allowed to reach fifty. Also, the load of work for teachers was far too heavy.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN :

problems of primary education

The history of Primary education in the old Bombay State is as fascinating as it is instructive. It is a story of dreams and disappointments. Throughout my service under the Bombay Government, I took the keenest possible interest in Primary education and was responsible, to a great extent, for the broad policies of the Congress Government under the late Shri B. G. Kher. By 1937, I was thoroughly acquainted with the main defects of our system. We were only awaiting the arrival of a popular Government for their eradication. To understand the position then existing and the subsequent developments, it is necessary to know the system of administration prevailing in the old Bombay State before and after 1923. In any discussion of the administration of Primary education in the old Bombay Presidency, it is hardly possible to avoid a reference to the communal spirit noticeable in those days.

The Bombay Presidency was lucky in having Dr. R. P. Paranjpe as the first Minister of Education under the Dyarchy. He was Minister for three years, from 1921 to 23. He was an experienced educationist and a prominent Liberal leader. He naturally thought that spread of education among the masses was the prime need of the country. He was well aware of the herculean efforts made by the great Liberal leader, G. K. Gokhale, to introduce compulsory Primary education in 1912. The bill introduced by him in the Central Legislature had failed owing to the opposition of Government, which would never accept the principle of compulsory education for Indians. Dr. Paranjpe was a close associate of Gokhale. Here, therefore, was a chance for him to do what Gokhale and other Liberal leaders had fought for all those years. Dr. Paranjpe had also personal knowledge of the maladministration of Primary education under the old bureaucratic rule. The D. P. I. and the Divisional Educational Inspectors were generally British officers whose main interest was the smooth administration of the Presidency. They, therefore, never questioned the motives of the Deputy Edu-

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cational Inspectors who were the District officers. The District officers, in their turn, depended on their clerks, who were the real bosses as far as district administration of Primary schools was concerned. So, ultimately, what the head clerk did was upheld by all the superior officers right up to the D. P. I. In many districts, the head clerks naturally became quite rich, as they had the appointments and transfers of Primary teachers in their hands. The Deputy Educational Inspector was known simply as the "Deputy". He was just as important as the District Collector (or Deputy Commissioner), as far as influence in the district was concerned. Broadly speaking, he had the same number of subordinate officers and teachers under him as the District Collector had in the form of taluka and village officers. Wherever the Deputy went, he was received with awe and respect by the people. The village teachers were lavishly hospitable to the Deputy, and made the local leaders put in a good word to him in appreciation of their work. If he came for the annual examination of the school, then the whole village was agog with excitement. The parents of the children were anxious to see how their sons fared—at that time there were hardly any girls—in the examination. There used to be at the time, an external examination even for Primary school children and this examination was held by the Deputy or his subordinate inspecting officer. The teachers had no say in the matter. The most important thing about this whole business was the hospitality extended to the Deputy and his entourage by the teaching staff of the school. The Deputy had a reputation for good taste in food, and the teachers' energies were bent towards satisfying this prime need. If the headmaster was popular in the village, the expenditure on the entertainment of this important guest was shared by the villagers. Once this job was done well to the satisfaction of the Deputy, the headmaster was quite safe for one year more ! He need not attend to the classroom work at all. It was this trait of the bureaucratic system that perhaps gave the Deputy the nickname of "Donapoty" in Maharashtra, which meant 'two stomachs'.

The dangers inherent in this system are too patent to need elaboration. If the headmaster or any of his assistants misbehaved in the village or did not mind his own business, the village had no means of getting rid of him. The villagers would submit an application against the teacher to the Deputy whose office asked for an explanation from the headmaster concerned. The headmaster sent a report saying that the petition had been engineered by a set of disgruntled people for their own reasons. Then the villagers'

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petition was disposed of with a routine reply to the petitioners saying that enquiries made had shown that there was no substance in their complaint. Of course, in some cases the villagers' complaint might have been frivolous, and in other cases their grievances were undoubtedly genuine. Even an appeal against the Deputy's decision to the Divisional Educational Inspector brought the same answer, only after a year or so. Good work in a village school depended very much on the sweet will of the Headmaster.

The appointment of trained Primary teachers was practically made by the Principal of the Training college; for he used to hold a test for those who had passed the vernacular final examination at the end of the Middle school (or Upper Primary) course for admission into the Training college. He selected those whom he liked. There were many instances of cooks and menial servants of some officers like the Deputy passing this test with ease. The Principal was himself appointed from amongst the senior Deputies, and this was perhaps his last job in the Department of Education. So he made hay while the sun shone. I had known many such officers drawing a mere 400 p.m. who retired with a handsome bank balance of two or three lakhs of rupees. The teachers selected for training went ordinarily through a two-year course. A few were selected for the third-year training, while a few were dropped at the end of the first year. The first-year trained teachers received a salary of Rs. 9 p.m. while the second year trained teachers received a salary of Rs. 12 p.m. The third-year teachers' pay was Rs. 15 p.m. He was the luckiest chap. One Principal of the Primary Training college in Dharwar had devised a simple formula for weeding out teachers at the end of each year. Legend has it that he used to hold a competition in eating. The names were arranged in order of merit according to the number of 'ladus' (or cakes) each teacher consumed. The first few were retained for the next year's course and the rest were dropped and sent back with their certificates. This method was so successful and so easy that the Principal has gone down in history as a very eminent educationist and leader!

This was the method of selecting Primary teachers for the Training colleges. But not all of them were trained. The minimum educational qualification prescribed in those days was a certificate of having passed the Vernacular Final examination (i.e. the Middle school examination). Thus the Primary teachers had had only seven or eight years' education before they embarked on their profession. Many candidates were absorbed as teachers in Primary schools on this qualification alone. Their appointments were made by the Deputy

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Educational Inspector. To be fair to him, the appointments were really made by his head clerk. When I was young, I noticed that one Kulkarni of my village was appointed teacher immediately on the declaration of the Vernacular Final examination results. He was an anaemic person and had failed at the examination Six times and had scraped through at the seventh chance. Rumour had it that the Kulkarni had great influence with the Deputy of Belgaum district. More likely, he managed it by giving the necessary 'fee' to the Deputy's head clerk. There was no medical examination at the time for Primary teachers. If there had been one, it was difficult to see how any medical officer could have approved of his appointment. On the other hand, many deserving candidates with a high percentage of marks had no chances whatsoever. In the villages, the teacher's position commanded great respect although the post only carried a meagre salary. Many farmers would have liked to see their sons fixed as Primary teachers, but in spite of their highly meritorious performance in the examination, they had no chance at all. Broadly speaking, 80% of the Primary teachers up to 1925 were Brahmins, 10% non-Brahmin Hindus and 10% Moslems (in Maharashtra and Karnatak). Moreover, the officers—Deputies, Headmasters of Government High schools, Principals of Primary Training Colleges were also Brahmins. This, however, was understandable; for the Brahmins were ahead of the other communities and, by seniority or merit, occupied all the top posts available to Indians. What could not be satisfactorily explained was that 80% of the Primary teachers—perhaps more—belonged to the Advanced communities. This was not the special feature of the Education Department only. The same was the case with most of the other Government Departments. This was the natural result of bureaucratic government; for, if any officer appointed men of his own caste or kin, there was hardly anybody to take him to task!

All this naturally changed after 1921, when the bureaucratic Government was replaced by a responsible Government in the provinces, at least in some subjects. In the transferred Departments, the Legislative Council had a greater say than in the reserved Departments. Even so, with the establishment of a Legislative Council, most members of which were elected by the people, any attempt on the part of a particular community to concentrate in any Department would cause a lot of stir in the Council. Actually, the Legislative Council took up the question of adequate representation to the various communities in the public services, almost immediately after coming into existence. It was decided that all communities should be divided into three classes—Advanced, Intermediate and Backward. The

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communities which had enjoyed a near monopoly in the public services in the old days were included in the advanced classes. They comprised Parsees, Christians, Brahmins, Kayasthas and others, who were educationally and socially much advanced. In fact, all the communities not included in the Intermediate and Backward classes were regarded as Advanced. The Intermediate classes included generally the agricultural and artisan communities, such as Marathas, Moslems, Lingayats, Malees, Shepherds. Government prepared a list of such communities for the general information of the public. The Backward classes comprised communities which were, socially and economically, extremely backward, such as 'untouchables' and hill tribes. Most of these communities were later put in the scheduled classes at the instance of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. 50% of all clerical and other appointments which did not require high educational qualifications, were reserved by Government for the Intermediate and Backward communities under the new constitution of the Bombay Government. Even with this reservation, there was no appreciable improvement in the situation, as the appointing officers, for the most part, belonged to the Advanced communities, and could easily find excuses for rejecting candidates from other communities. There was no agency to go into the reasons for rejecting certain candidates and appointing others. The Intermediate classes were, however, in a strong majority in the local bodies, and there they could appoint their own men as well as those belonging to the backward communities. The non-Brahmin Ministers of the Bombay Government Shri B. V. Jadhav and Shri Siddappa Kambli, however, tried their best not only to provide adequate representation to the Intermediate and Backward classes in the public services, but also to institute a number of scholarships in schools and colleges for them.

Education was a transferred subject, and the administration of Primary education often became a subject of discussion in the Legislative Council. Since the elected members had local knowledge, they could easily challenge the official version of an incident. In a year or two, the misdeeds of some Deputy Educational Inspectors and Principals of Primary Training Colleges were brought to the notice of Dr. Paranjpe, the then Minister of Education. He took strong action against the officers who were found guilty of misbehaviour. Soon it became clear to Government officers that they could no longer be callous to public interest or get away with injustice to any section of the community. This was the first shock that the officers got, with the transfer to the people of some measure of control on public affairs. Dr. Paranjpe, as a people's representative, as well as a great educa-

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tionist and Liberal leader, was interested in raising the standard of administration on the one hand and in expansion of Primary education on the other. In the past, he had pleaded for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education, and now that he was Minister of Education, people naturally expected him to do something great for the development of Primary education.

The Indian Education Commission, known as the Hunter Commission, had already recommended the transfer of Primary education to the control of local bodies. It had suggested as far back as 1882, that some legislation was necessary for the proper control of Primary education. The scope and character of the legislative action, the Commission had observed, should be decided by each Province for itself after consideration of its own needs and circumstances. On this recommendation of the Hunter Commission, the Government of India had passed the Local Self-Government Act in 1884, which contained a provision to the effect that Government might make rules prescribing the extent of the "independent authority" of local bodies in respect of public education and their relations with the Education Department. In the exercise of these powers, some rules had been framed for the administration of Local Board or Municipal Primary schools. Under these rules, Primary education had not advanced as well as it should have. Nor was the administration quite efficient. This led Dr. Paranjpe to embark on a new policy of handing over the entire administration of Primary schools to local bodies. In this he was largely influenced by the example of control exercised by the County Councils in Great Britain over Primary and Secondary Education. Thus, the Bombay Presidency Education Act was passed in 1923 and it opened a new chapter in the history of Primary education in the old Bombay Presidency. The main provisions of this Act were :

(a) The District Local Boards and some important Municipalities were designated as Local Authorities, and these Local Authorities were required to have their own School Boards.

(b) The District School Board or the Municipal School Board was responsible for the management and control of all Primary schools maintained by the Local Authority.

(c) The School Board was to prepare a scheme of compulsory elementary education in the whole or any part of the area subject to its jurisdiction. The School Board was also to prepare a scheme for the expansion of Elementary or Primary education on a voluntary basis, side by side with the introduction of compulsion.

(d) The Local Authority was competent to employ an adequate

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administrative, supervising, inspecting and teaching staff including such attendance officers as may be necessary.

(e) The chief executive officer of the School Board was the Administrative Officer, appointed by the Local Authority and approved by the Provincial Government.

(f) Each School Board consisted of 12 to 16 members including a woman, elected by the Local Authority, two experienced in education and not more than two representing the minorities and Backward communities. In addition, Government was to nominate 4 persons.

Dr. Paranjpe is a venerable old man and I have had several official and social contacts with him in my life. I have often had occasions to discuss the provisions of this Primary Education Act with him. He has always given me an impression that he knew that the wide powers given to the people in the field of Primary education were likely to be misused; but he was convinced that any initiative for the introduction of compulsory elementary education should come from the people themselves. He had no illusions about the efficiency of Government administration either. Moreover, Indians were generally clamouring for self-Government and Dr. Paranjpe must have thought that here was an opportunity for them to get experience in administration. There is no doubt whatsoever that he sponsored the Bill in the Council with a clear mind and the best of intentions.

The new Primary Education Rules were promulgated by Government in 1924, and School Boards were formed in several districts by 1925. As expected, the people of communities which had so far had no experience of administration formed the majority in most of the School Boards. The first difficulty for each School Board was to have an administrative officer who could enjoy the confidence of the Board. There were a number of senior officers in the Department with a considerable amount of inspecting and administrative experience. The School Boards did not want any of them as they all belonged to the Advanced communities. For this key post, they wanted a non-Brahmin. This was a great mistake; for seasoned officers would have been of immense help to the School Boards in their relations with Government, at least in the beginning. The Local Authorities appointed junior Departmental officers as Administrative officers, simply on the ground that they were non-Brahmins. The School Boards were to function for the first time and they would have done well to appoint senior Departmental officers. They would have established good traditions of administration, trained the clerical and other staff and maintained cordial relations with the Education Department. The Boards,

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however, wanted for the chief executive post a person who would to their line. A few Government inspecting officers had to be taken by the Boards; but naturally they were also demoralised in a year or two under a weak Administrative Officer. Government would not at first agree to the appointment of an inexperienced person for the post of Administrative Officer and suggested names from among the Departmental officers. However, the Boards would not agree to the suggestion of the Government and hence a deadlock ensued in a few districts. After some time, Government had, under political pressure, to yield. Thus, in a number of districts, the Administrative Officers were weak and inexperienced.

Prior to the Primary Education Act of 1923, the powers of the District Local Boards were confined to the sanctioning of the educational budget prepared by the Deputy Educational Inspector of the district, deciding upon the location of schools and regulating the rates of fees. All other powers, such as appointment, promotion, transfer, punishment or dismissal of teachers, granting of leave, etc. were exercised by the Education Department on behalf of the Local Bodies. Now all these powers were transferred to the Administrative Officer. The Department retained only the power to make rules under the Primary Education Act. This was perhaps the first experiment in democracy in public education in India, and the success of the experiment depended largely on the goodwill of the Department on the one hand and on the spirit of public service on the part of the Local Authorities on the other. Both were, more or less, absent. The officers of the Education Department nursed a grievance against the School Boards, as the latter had deprived them of all the powers. The School Boards, on the other hand, did not know how to exercise their powers in the public interest. Politics played a large part in the exercise of power. Whereas, formerly, the Brahmins ruled in Maharashtra and Karnatak, now it was the turn of the non-Brahmins. Just as the Brahmins had, in the past, given appointments to any persons of their community possessing the minimum qualifications, now the non-Brahmins started doing the same. It matters little whether teachers are Brahmins or non-Brahmins provided they are well qualified and serious in their work. But real merit counted for little both before and after the passing of the 1923 Act. Formerly, the influence of the Deputy Educational Inspector and his associates had counted. Now any member of the School Board had the power to reward or harm a teacher for work done or not done. The old regime had one advantage over the new. Any injustice done to a school or any wrong appointments or transfers made had remained, for the most part, unnoticed. After the transfer of control, the wrongs

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done by the School Boards were much exaggerated and became the talk of the whole district, as is the case now with the State and Union Governments. It is the price we pay for democracy. Add to it the School Boards' lack of experience in managing its offices. Most of them did not know the correct procedure of incurring and recording expenditure. In the circumstances, the School Boards were bound to find themselves in the soup, sooner or later.

The main purpose of the 1923 Act was to provide opportunities for the School Boards to promote the expansion of Primary education in their area. This meant the starting of new schools, construction of school buildings, introduction of expansion schemes on a voluntary or compulsory basis. All these, however, required additional funds with the School Boards. Before the introduction of the Primary Education Act of 1923, the Bombay Government used to collect from the District Local Boards one-third of the revenues from the local fund cess for Primary education and bear all the remaining expenditure itself. After the passing of the Act, Government's share of the expenditure on Primary education was fixed as under :

(a) Datum grant, which was roughly the expenditure incurred by the Government on Primary education in the district in the year prior to that in which the control of Primary education was transferred to the District Local Board, and

(b) Two-thirds of the additional expenditure (i. e. approved expenditure of the year minus Datum expenditure).

A noticeable feature of the new arrangement was that the Bombay Government was now responsible for only two-thirds of the additional expenditure incurred on any development schemes, whereas, before 1923, they had incurred the whole expenditure.

In regard to Local Authority Municipalities, the grants were paid by Government at 50% of the expenditure incurred during the preceding year. The non-Local Authority Municipalities were required to contribute one-third of the total expenditure on Primary education and the rest was paid by Government.

No substantial improvement in the expansion of education was possible under the Act, as all schemes required prior sanction of Government. With relations strained between the Education Department and the Local Authorities for a variety of reasons, the D. P. I.'s office would not recommend the sanction of any development scheme to Government. Even if the D. P. I. did recommend, Government turned down the proposal on the ground of financial stringency. Thus, neither the District School Boards nor the L. A. Municipalities

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could get even schemes of voluntary expansion approved by Government. The only District which benefited from the voluntary expansion was the Satara District. The scheme of voluntary expansion in that district was sanctioned by Government because the Minister of Education, the Hon'ble B. V. Jadhav, represented that district in the Legislative Council. It was a special case. At that time, the D. P. I.'s office was determined to see that the main objective of the new Primary Education Act of 1923 was torpedoed, as the officer in charge of Primary education was extremely annoyed with the District School Boards for not taking the senior Government officers (in the Subordinate service) as Administrative Officers. Moreover, he was not happy about the way the School Boards functioned. In one of the notes sent to Government, he had remarked "It is true that non-Brahmins were not treated well before 1923; but now they are playing havoc. Power has gone to their heads." Such an officer was not likely to be helpful or sympathetic to the School Boards. As a matter of fact, while scrutinising the expenditure of the School Boards for purposes of Government grant, he disallowed a large number of items of the expenditure which any officer with a certain amount of sympathy would have allowed. The lack of sympathy on the part of the Education Department, inexperienced officers in the School Boards and the financial stringency prevailing at that time all conspired to shatter the original dreams of Dr. Paranjpe regarding the spread of education among the masses. On the other hand, one heard of chaos in administration, mismanagement here, corruption there, and so on. These reports were highly exaggerated, no doubt. All the same, there was a considerable amount of discontent particularly in Maharashtra and Karnatak. People openly said that Dr. Paranjpe's experiment in democracy was an utter failure.

It was at this time that I came on the scene. As Educational Inspector of the Bombay Division I had certain powers over the School Boards in my division. All their accounts and proposals for expansion were scrutinised by my office and passed on to the D. P. I. I had to select finally the teachers of each Board for Primary Training colleges. The Boards recommended names and I had to select teachers from that list. In the exercise of these powers, I confess, I showed a certain amount of sympathy for the School Boards. I occasionally attended the School Board meetings and advised them to carry on the administration impartially and efficiently. On the subject of appointment of teachers, my advice was that they would ignore merit at their own peril. I would say, "If you are interested in Intermediate and Backward communities, you may give preference to them, other

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things being equal. Even amongst the Backward classes you should recruit teachers but strictly on merit. If you are led away by influence, corruption will set in and you will earn a bad name. After all, this is an experiment in democracy. If you make a mess of it, it will mean that we are incompetent to manage our affairs and that may mean postponement of Swaraj for us. You have a grave responsibility on your shoulders." All the School Boards in my Division had great respect for me for such frank advice, understanding of their problems and occasional help in trouble; but there was no sign of abatement of jealousies and communal friction.

Apart from the elected members of the School Boards, there used to be four nominated members. For these nominations the recommendations used to go from the Educational Inspector to Government, through the D. P. I. Similarly, for the same nominations recommendations used to be made by the District Collector (Deputy Commissioner) through the Divisional Commissioner. The Government used to select any four names out of the lists of the Educational Inspector and the District Collector, as the D. P. I. or the Revenue Commissioner hardly bothered about them. The Minister of Education, however, had great difficulty in selecting the names, as occasionally the names ultimately selected by Government would make all the difference to the chances of a particular party forming the majority in the School Board. A good deal of influence, therefore, was brought to bear on the Minister of Education. I know of many cases in which even the Governor differed from the Minister of Education on these nominations. The late Diwan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, Minister of Education from 1932 to 1937, did not agree with the Governor in several cases in which he was personally interested. Under the Dyarchy, all appointments, etc. were made by the Governor with the *concurrence of the Minister* concerned, in the transferred subjects. Now, Diwan Bahadur Kambli was a strong Minister, being the leader of the non-Brahmin party, whose strength in the Council was considerable. When the Governor differed from Diwan Bahadur Kambli in regard to any appointment or nomination of a member of a School Board, the Minister would insist on his selection being finally accepted. Diwan Bahadur Kambli's stock argument with the Governor was, "Your Excellency, you can make your own selections, but if you want my *concurrence*, as provided under the Constitution, you will have to accept my recommendations." The Governor was helpless. He couldn't do anything in the transferred Departments without the concurrence of the popular Minister. In one case, the Governor accepted all the names recommended by me for the Ratnagiri District.

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The Collector of the district, Mr. Gilligan, was furious. He was an Irishman. I had known him for some years. On account of his war service, he had been nominated to the I. C. S., but was rather rough and far from cultured. He used to say, "What do I know about Education except that my mother sent me to school?" He had a heated argument with me about the nominations and threatened me with these words, "All right, you think you are more powerful than myself in my District. Remember I can put you in gaol at least for a day in the exercise of my special powers." I replied, "Yes. You can be rash and silly and then take the consequences. I have as much right to recommend names for the School Board as you have. The ultimate decision is Government's." Apart from this, he gave me a lot of trouble in his District. The Revenue Department was then under the Executive Councillor, Sir Gulam Hussain. I reported the facts to him. On hearing me, he immediately ordered Mr. Gilligan's transfer from the district. After 3 or 4 years, he resigned his I. C. S. post, as he had created sufficient trouble for himself. That was the extent to which quarrels about Government's nominations could go in those days.

During the first year of my service in the Education Department, there was an important judgment of the District Judge of Thana casting grave aspertions on Government in a District School Board case of Thana. The allegation was that there was an embezzlement of the D. S. B. funds by the Chairman and the Administrative Officer of the School Board. The amount involved was very small—less than Rs. 10. I believe the amount was either unaccounted for or was held irregular by the Audit. In any case, with a little effort on the part of the School Board office, the discrepancy could have been put right. But the opposition party in the School Board took a serious view and complained to the D. P. I. The office of the D. P. I. was only waiting for an opportunity. On the advice of the D. P. I. the Government prosecuted the Chairman and the Administrative Officer for the alleged embezzlement of public funds. When feelings are running high, nobody bothers about natural justice or fair play. The amount involved also did not matter. They were let off on bail. After several months' anxiety for the accused, the case came up for hearing before a local Magistrate. After hearing the arguments for and against the accused, the Magistrate declared that it was a frivolous and vexatious case and that the accused were entirely innocent. Against this judgment of the Magistrate, Government went in appeal to the District Judge, Mr. Sanjana, a Parsee. Mr. Sanjana wrote a strong, and forthright judgment against Government which had ordered prosecution of the Chairman and the Adminis-

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trative Officer. The strictures passed by the Judge on Government were of such a nature that it made Government sit up and think of the case *de novo*. It was a rap on their knuckles. Of course, there were those who advised Government to take up the case to the High Court. At this time, the Secretary to Government, Mr. Ewbank, asked me to see him, as this case concerned my Division. Now, it happened that I knew the main issues of the case, as I had carefully read the Magistrate's judgment. The Chairman of the School Board, Thana—Shri Junjarao, who was involved in this case, was a very pleasant person to deal with. He was one of the wealthiest persons in Thana District, with an annual income of more than Rs. 50,000. He owned several buildings in Kalyan and landed property in the district. The charge that such a man would stoop to embezzle a paltry sum of Rs. 10 was fantastic. His only fault was that he was a Maratha and a non-Brahmin in charge of Primary education. The Administrative Officer was also a non-Brahmin (goldsmith), although he belonged to an Advanced community, according to the classification of the several communities in those days. So the opponents of the non-Brahmin party had brought this criminal case against them. I am at a loss to know even to this day how Government's legal experts allowed this case to be handled in the way they actually did. Later on, I had a number of such cases to deal with in the office of the D. P. I. every year. It is very difficult to establish criminal intentions against a party. In my long experience, I recommended only a few cases of corruption for further action by the Revenue Commissioner. Even in such cases, the Revenue Commissioner did not like to proceed further and gave the benefit of doubt to the party concerned. It is all right for the Auditor to indicate doubtful cases, but the controlling officers have got to be very careful in dealing with them. Unless it is a cast-iron case, no action can be taken on the Audit objections, except perhaps warning the party concerned to avoid such irregularities in future. Such being the case, it is difficult to understand how Government ordered the prosecution of the Chairman and the Administrative Officer in the Thana case. Anyway, I told Mr. Ewbank that Government's legal advisers had let down the Department badly and that it was unthinkable that a person of the position of Mr. Junjarao would be guilty of misappropriating a paltry sum. To the question whether Government should take up the case to the High Court, I said, "Government has somehow involved itself in the D. S. B. parties. It was a mistake in the first instance to order the prosecution of the two officers without knowing the motives of the party which complained against them. Feelings are running high between the various communities at this time, and it would be distinctly unwise for Government to

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associate itself with one party." Mr. Ewbank was silent for a moment and said, "Nobody has advised Government like this so far." Ultimately, Government had to drop the case and lump the strictures of the Thana Judge for launching a prosecution case against the two important officers of the District School Board.

I noticed that, at the time, the European officers were distinctly of the view that only the non-Brahmins and the Moslems were communal. That was because there used to be at least one non-Brahmin and one Moslem Minister on the provincial cabinet. It is true that these Ministers were solely concerned with their own communities and would give a lot of trouble to the Head of the Department and the Secretary to Government. On the other hand, my experience was that there was too much of communalism and partiality everywhere, as a result of the establishment of the School Boards. There were some School Boards which were under the control of Brahmins; for instance, Poona and Ratnagiri. The complaint there was that all the patronage went to Brahmins. Once the D. P. I., Mr. R. H. Beckett, and I were discussing the question of communalism and I told him that he was wrong in assuming that only non-Brahmins were communal and Brahmins were not. He did not agree. I said, "All right, let us go to Ratnagiri, and you meet important people of the district and see what they tell you." So we went to Ratnagiri and Rajapur, in December 1933. I do not know the present position; but at the time, the Ratnagiri district was divided into three parts—each dominated by one sect of Brahmins. The northern part—Dapoli and Chiplun—was under the influence of Konkanastha Brahmins, the middle part—Ratnagiri and Rajapur—was under the influence of Karada Brahmins, and the southern part—Malvan and Vengurla—was under the influence of Saraswats. Those three sections of Brahmins did not see eye to eye with one another. As far as the educational administration of the district was concerned, the Karadas were in power. The Chairman and the Administrative Officer of the District School Board were Karadas, the Headmaster of the Government High School was a Karada and the Government Inspecting officer—the S. A. D. E. I.—was also a Karada. It was just an accident, but the Konkanastha (Chitpavan) Brahmins of the district were openly accusing me of having done this under the influence of my friend Dr. G. S. Mahajani—Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona. Actually, Dr. Mahajani did not know anything about it. When Mr. Beckett visited the district, he talked to a number of people. As expected, everywhere he heard complaints against the School Board administration and the domination of the Karada Brahmins. After his return, Mr. Beckett was a

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changed man as far as complaints of a communal nature went. He praised me before the Hon'ble Minister and the Secretary for my knowledge of D. S. B. affairs in each district of my Division. I learnt one lesson during these years! *Never accuse anybody regarding communal matters. There is always another side to it. Power corrupts everybody.*

To explain the intrigues of the School Boards on these lines is not to excuse them. In my mind the position was clear. There was corruption and communalism in every district. To avoid these, what was required was a certain measure of Departmental control over the School Board affairs, particularly in respect of appointments of teachers and inspecting officers and their transfers. In many districts, the percentage of non-Brahmin teachers was rapidly increasing. I would not mind whether the teachers were Brahmins or non-Brahmins, provided they were recruited on merit. In some districts we used to hear that certain fees were prescribed for appointments and transfers of Primary teachers. Although such criticism was generally based on highly exaggerated reports of the disgruntled people, there was some truth in this. To set matters right, the Boards must either be mended or ended. I was in favour of mending rather than ending them.

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CHAPTER TWELVE :

provincial autonomy

By the time I returned home after a six-month holiday in England and France, the Congress Party had assumed power in most of the provinces. In April 1937, when I left for Europe, the Congress party could have been in power; but some preliminary issues regarding the control of the Governor in the day-to-day administration of a province had to be settled on an all-India basis. So a provisional Government had been formed under the leadership of Mr. D. J. Cooper in the Bombay Province. Actually it was good that the Congress got assurance from the Government of India that there would be no interference in the day-to-day affairs of administration; otherwise, the Governor would have easily found excuses to support bureaucracy as against the wishes of the popular Minister.

There was a controversy at that time as to who should be the leader of the Congress Legislature party in the Bombay Province. Two claimants were on the scene—Shri K. M. Munshi and the late Shri Nariman. Shri Nariman was connected with the Congress party for a much longer period than Shri Munshi and was at that time President of the Congress organisation of Bombay city. The claims of both were set aside and Shri B. G. Kher—an unknown figure in the political life of the Bombay Presidency—was selected as leader of the Congress Legislature party. Subsequent events proved that it was a wise choice on the part of the Congress High Command. The Education Department of the Bombay Government was particularly lucky in having him as Chief Minister as well as Minister of Education. It was just about a month or two that the Congress had assumed power when I returned to my job in the office of the D. P. I., Poona.

During my absence on leave, Mr. S. S. Cameron was acting as Assistant D. P. I. in my place. He was not the most senior Educational Inspector, but as he was at the time Educational Inspector, Central Division, Poona, he was appointed purely as a local

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arrangement.

Although I was confirmed as Assistant D. P. I., I should have preferred to go back as Educational Inspector, after three years' experience as Assistant D. P. I.; for, district work was much more exciting and interesting than the job of pushing the files at headquarters. The only consideration was that the post of Assistant D. P. I. had a special pay of Rs. 100 p. m. attached to it in addition to the usual pay in the Class I scale. On the other hand, the Educational Inspector had an extensive territory for touring and obtained first-hand information about the men and affairs of the Department. On my return I saw Mr. Grieve, the D. P. I. He was very happy to hear my account of visits to different types of educational institutions in Great Britain. At the end of the short chat I had with him he said with a certain amount of affection, "Well, my boy ! you have done very well in the office. You have got all the experience of my office and now I want you to go back as Educational Inspector, Poona division. With your knowledge and experience of inspection work done in Britain, you should be able to bring about many improvements in the educational work". I thanked him and assumed the office of Educational Inspector, Poona. The position, however, was that the Government orders had not yet been received. The D. P. I. had recommended that I should be posted as Educational Inspector. There the matter rested and nobody knew what Government had done with the proposal. Actually, the Government (i.e. the Ministers and the Secretaries) at the time were having their Poona session. Later, on the day I took over as Educational Inspector, the Secretary to Government phoned to the D. P. I. that I should be retained in my old position of Assistant D. P. I. and that Mr. Cameron should revert to his post of Educational Inspector at Poona. This was the first shock the D. P. I. had under the autonomous provincial Government. Time was when the D. P. I's recommendations were only nominally scrutinised by Government, and there was no question of differing from the head of the Department. All matters of policy emanated from the office of the D. P. I. During the Dyarchy, the Ministers occasionally differred from the head of the Department, but not generally in matters of appointments and transfers. Even when the Ministers did not agree with the D. P. I., the papers were sent back unofficially to him for his comments. On such occasions the Ministers used to discuss the point with the Head of the Department and put down the gist of the discussion in a note. Unless there was general agreement between the head of the department and the Minister in charge

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of the Department, the Governor would not ordinarily agree. The final orders on important matters like appointments and transfers of senior Government officials were issued only after the approval of the Governor with the concurrence of all the parties concerned. Under the provincial autonomy, here was a case about my posting. The D. P. I.'s proposals were not only completely disregarded but he was not even taken into confidence while issuing the final orders. The D. P. I. had not the slightest inkling that his proposals would be upset by Government. Now, after all, Government meant the Chief Minister and not the Governor. The orders of the Chief Minister were final. The poor D. P. I. ! He was crestfallen. Long and loud were his lamentations over the issue. Messrs Cameron and Grieve were closeted together for hours in the office. Eventually, Mr. Grieve asked for an appointment with Shri Kher. Apparently he asked for the cancellation of those orders and retention of Mr. Cameron in the office. When the Chief Minister refused to accommodate Mr. Grieve, a proposal was made to him to create another special post in the office of the D. P. I. and to give it to Mr. Cameron. He must have said, "After all, what would be my position in the Department if such simple proposals are not accepted by Government ? I can assure you that Mr. Pavate is not at all anxious to remain in the D. P. I.'s office as he must have more district experience. If you insist on those orders being carried out, then create another post of a special officer for Mr. Cameron in my office. You have several schemes of development in view and Mr. Cameron will be a great asset to me in view of his special knowledge of such problems in England." Government agreed to the latter proposal of creating an additional post for Mr. Cameron. The truth is that Mr. Grieve was somewhat ease-loving and could not have carried on without some one on whom he could depend. His greatest assets were his commonsense and flexibility. He was extremely sympathetic and well meaning to his subordinates and tried to get on as well as he could, in difficult situations without making any trouble for himself. Most of the thinking was done for him by his immediate subordinates in the office, and Mr. Cameron was his sheet-anchor.

We were all perplexed as to why Government insisted on retaining me in the office against the wishes of the D. P. I. I did not know the Chief Minister and was personally, not in the least interested in remaining in the office of the D. P. I.

Next day I was in my room in the Educational Inspector's office. Mr. Grieve rang me up to say that I should go back to my Assistant D. P. I.'s job. So, I took over my former office and asked Mr. Grieve

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what the matter was. I said I was anxious to serve for a while as Educational Inspector. Why had Government turned down his proposals? He replied "Oh, I think they have misunderstood the position. They seem to be under the impression that I have deliberately pushed you out of my office to make room for Mr. Cameron. You carry on as before. I shall want Mr. Cameron to be here for about six months more to help me in dealing with the Government schemes". I noticed that he was visibly upset and since I was the cause of his agony, I did not want to prolong the discussion and upset him still further.

The Congress Ministry of the Bombay Province then consisted of Shri B. G. Kher, Chief Minister and Minister of Education, Shri K. M. Munshi, Home Minister, Shri Morarjibhai Desai, Revenue Minister, Shri A. B. Latthe, Finance Minister, and some three other Ministers with whom I did not come in contact to any great extent. Of these I knew Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri A. B. Latthe. The latter had been a prominent non-Brahmin leader a few years earliar and had joined the Congress party recently. Since he belonged to the Belgaum district, I knew him very well. After two or three days, I asked Mr. Grieve whether I could call on the Minister of Education as we used to do in the past. His reply was peremptory: "No. I shall do all this calling. None of you shall see the Minister of Education, or any Minister for that matter." But I pleaded, "Shri Latthe is an old friend of mine. He comes from my district. Have you any objection to my calling on him at least?" He replied, "There is no objection in that case to your seeing Mr. Latthe." Next day I saw Shri Latthe in his office. He was very pleased to see me and said, "I was wondering what had happened to you. You returned to Poona a week back and still you did not see me all these days. Perhaps you want to be stand-offish to the Congress Government being accustomed to the British Government." When he taunted me like that, I had to tell him the truth. So I said, "Actually I was wanting to see you and the Chief Minister; but I needed permission of the boss. He does not allow any one of us to see our own Education Ministre; but when I pleaded that you were an old friend of mine and that you hailed from the Belgaum district, he allowed me to see only you." Shri Latthe smiled. We then talked about some topics of common interest and I took leave of him. Actually, I thought it was very childish of Mr. Grieve not to allow any officers of the Department to see the Ministers. He was getting highly suspicious of all Indian officers and was depending more and more on Mr. Cameron. This was a great mistake; for Mr. Grieve, unlike his

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name, was really a kind-hearted man and nobody could damage his reputation—such as it was—by backbiting. He was afraid that people might carry tales about the Department; but that could not be avoided by imposing a general restriction on the officers like that. Shri Latthe faithfully conveyed to Shri B. G. Kher, what I had told him about Mr. Grieve's oral instructions that no officer should see the Minister for education. The net result of my interview with Shri Latthe was that Government issued special orders to the effect that all Gazetted officers should call on their Ministers as a matter of etiquette. This was more than Mr. Grieve had bargained for.

As I have explained in the previous chapter, education was in a stagnant condition throughout the period of Dyarchy. Some provinces had tried to grapple with a few problems here and there. The Bombay Government had not done even that. There was no money for any improvement. The masses, on the whole, remained illiterate, the total percentage for literacy being about 8°/₀ in the country. So, I was looking forward to the advent of provincial autonomy and we were all full of hopes. The sacrifice and idealism of the Congress workers had made a profound impression on Indian officers under Government. So it was with great and understandable pride that I called on Shri B. G. Kher. What an impression he made on me! Dressed in immaculate white khaddar, he beamed on me and talked to me as if I had been a long lost friend. He was a handsome and learned man by any standard; but what appealed to me was his simplicity. In a few words he said that he would depend on officers like me to develop educational schemes. When I was asked to state what exactly were the urgent problems, I told him that we were all drawing high salaries without achieving anything substantial for the good of the common man. I said, "The main problem of course, is Primary education. Dr. Paranjpe had the Primary Education Act passed in his time with good motives; but finance was a reserved subject and Government would not sanction any additional funds for the expansion of education. We have been dragging on without any aim or objective and at this rate we shall not achieve literacy even after 150 years. All our schemes have foundered on the rock of finance and here we are doing just nothing. Of course, we have sufficient work in the office and that work is mostly in the nature of settling either the quarrels of the schools or School Boards or informing the managements of schools that in the "present financial stringency" the requests made by them for additional grants cannot be complied with. Sir, ever since I have joined the Department, we have been freely using these blessed words, "financial

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stringency" and I do not know when we shall have sufficient funds for educating our people. A large number of Secondary schools are carrying od without any financial aid from Government and the teachers are working on miserable salaries." When he heard this account of the Education Department from me, he was visibly moved and asked me to give a note to Shrimati Hansa Mehta, who was then the Parliamentary Secretary for Education, on all the problems existing in the Department. I knew her as a member of the Senate of the Bombay University. I said to Shri Kher, however, that the departmental discipline was so rigid that if I attempted to give any thing in writing to him directly, it would be construed as misbehaviour. He assured me that the note I would send would be in the personal file of Smt. Hansa Mehta and that it would not be dealt with officially. However, to safeguard my own interests, I said that I would hand over the note to Smt. Mehta without my signature. He smilingly agreed and we parted. I left his room with a sense of happiness such as I had never experienced before, at the prospect of getting things going after all! Shri Kher had a knack of putting everybody at his ease in conversation. He had been a first class scholar in his college days, and there was no doubt in my mind about his learning and scholarship. He could speak on any subject with knowledge and understanding. What impressed me during my first interview was not so much his scholarship and knowledge as his idealism. I said to myself, "He is a man who is anxious to do something to expand education and improve the general conditions of the Department." My first impressions about Shri Kher were, therefore, very pleasant. Later on, I noticed several weak spots in his administration. With all his faults, the officers loved him and I do not think I have ever met an Educational Minister of his stature.

I had known Shri K. M. Munshi since 1928, when he was a leader of a party in the Bombay University. He was then a member of the Syndicate and I used to contact him to enlist his support for the K. L. E. Society's college at Belgaum. After I became a member of the Bombay University Senate in 1930, we had many contacts with each other in the University. After becoming Home Minister under the first Congress Government, he was a power to reckon with at least as far as his Department was concerned. In those days, all important posts in the Police Department were held by the British officers and it was a sight for any one to see so many British officers queuing up to see Shri Munshi in front of the small room allotted to him opposite the Council Hall in Poona. This was the first time he was Minister. In the past, he tried his best to be a Minister under

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the Dyarchy as a Liberal leader and once he narrowly missed it. In 1937, again he narrowly missed the office of Chief Minister. There is no doubt at all that Shri Munshi is one of the best intellectuals in India. Shri B. G. Kher stated in one of his broadcasts long afterwards that, on his appointment as Chief Minister of Bombay province, Shri Munshi went to him and said, "History records many instances in which the Prime Minister is not necessarily the ablest man. Sometimes for political reasons, a smaller man is elected as leader of the party." This was, of course, meant to keep Shri Kher under no illusion about the superiority of his claims for leadership. In addition to his being a brilliant advocate in Bombay, Shri Munshi was a great literary artist, being author of several novels and dramas in Gujarati and a fine orator. On the other hand, apart from having a good academic career, there had been nothing outstanding to the credit of Shri Kher in actual life till then. Yet there is no doubt that he was a more suitable man to shoulder the responsibilities of the administration of the Bombay province than Shri Munshi.

By far the most interesting Cabinet Minister of that regime was Shri Morarjibhai Desai. Till 1930, he had been a Deputy Collector in the Revenue department and had to resign his appointment at the instance of the then Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Garret. The circumstances in which he resigned made a hero of him. During the intervening period of 7 years, he was a full-fledged Congressman and had been to gaol during the 1932 movement. He is a science man, that is to say, he had taken science for his degree examination and, as a result of his brilliant academic career, he was directly appointed to the post of Deputy Collector by Government. This explains, to some extent at least, his clear-headedness and his ability to get things done. He was even a greater idealist than Shri Kher. It was a pleasure to serve under him; for he is essentially very sympathetic to the officers, having been one himself. Anyway, I soon made friends with him and that in very curious circumstances. He used to come every evening to the Bund Gardens while the Government was in Poona. My bungalow was just near the Gardens and I invariably went there for a walk. Shri L. R. Desai, who was an officer in the Education Department, was a friend and relation of Shri Morarjibhai and once introduced me to him there. He criticised our Department for its various defects. Among other things he criticised my dress. "Why must you have this European dress?" he said. Next day I went in my usual Indian dress (dhoti, shirt and coat) and that pleased him immensely. He said, "Oh, you are changed, aren't you? I am glad that I converted you to my views." Shri Morarjibhai is a man of strong likes and dislikes. As

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an idealist and nationalist he is hard to beat.

Shri A. B. Latthe, former Diwan of Kolhapur and a strong non-Brahmin, was very competent and experienced man. He was a Jain by caste, but was a leader of Marathas and Lingayats. The Marathas had then their own representative in the Bombay cabinet. So he owed his position to the fact that the Lingayats had some confidence in him. He was, however, a thoroughly disappointed man. In Belgaum, he tried to be a School Board Chairman; but the Lingayats, who were in the majority in the District Local Board of Belgaum, elected one Maratha as District School Board Chairman. He had, therefore, a strong prejudice against the Belgaum non-Brahmins. Even so, Shri M. P. Patil, who was the leader of the Karnatak members of the legislature, refused to be a Minister, as he had no experience worth the name and suggested that Shri Latthe be given the post meant for the Karnatak area. He himself preferred to be a Parliamentary Secretary instead. Unfortunately, Shri Latthe had a biting tongue. Within two or three months of his becoming Finance Minister under the Congress Government he gave a press interview in which he roundly condemned the Karnatak leaders and the Karnatak agitation for an independent State. This was wholly unwarranted and it is still a mystery to me why he used such an abusive language against the people who had made him their leader. In the circumstances, he had no support from any body except his few personal friends like M. P. Patil. The Maharashtra Brahmins had no confidence in him because of his past non-Brahmin activities and the Karnatak people had no love for him either. He could not, therefore, pull much weight in the Cabinet. Anyway, he was very friendly to me and occasionally we used to meet and discuss administrative matters in a general way. I believe he thought he was wasting his time as Minister. Shri B. G. Kher liked him; but public opinion seemed so much against him. Once Shri Kher felt that he was overworked and doctors advised him to take complete rest for about a fortnight. Since the other Cabinet members had their hands full, rumour had it that Shri Kher wanted Shri Latthe to be in charge of Education. There was so much opposition to the move that Shri Kher had to abandon his idea and make some other arrangement. In the Finance Department, Shri H. V. R. Iyengar, was the Secretary. With a brilliant man like him as his Secretary, Shri Latthe had very little thinking to do. The budget of Bombay province was at the time of the order of only about Rs. 16 crores. The Congress Government had to move warily in the matter of augmenting their resources, as they did not like to be unpopular. In these circumstances, Shri Latthe must have found life pretty dull and uninteresting. One day while he was talking to me,

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he suddenly said, "Mr. Pavate, I am jealous of you. You officers have more initiative and opportunities of serving people than we Ministers have." I was rather surprised at this language. Since he said this as a joke, I replied to him, "I am prepared to exchange my job with yours." Even so, Shri Latthe was useful to the agricultural classes generally in his own way. I believe he was largely responsible for the promotion of Shri S. R. Tawde to the B. E. S. Class I as Assistant Educational Inspector. Shri Tawde was a Maratha officer working as Principal of the Poona Primary Training College, Poona, for a number of years. He had also served as an Administrative Officer of some two districts. He was so sympathetic to the Primary teachers, that the latter almost worshipped him. We used to call him the "Raja" of the Primary school teachers. Later on, he served as Educational Inspector of the Southern division and also as Principal of the Secondary Teachers' College, Belgaum.

In compliance with my promise to the Chief Minister, I produced a note embodying my views on urgent problems in the Education Department calling for attention. This I did within a week of my first interview with the Minister of Education. I wrote a long note; but I remember it contained among others the following three important suggestions :

1. The amendment of the Primary Education Act of 1924 so as to make the Administrative Officers independent of the School Board. The Administrative Officer had all the executive powers such as the appointment and transfer of Primary teachers and yet, as he was subordinate to the School Board, the appointments and transfers of teachers were in effect made by the Chairman of the School Board. This naturally resulted in the abuse of powers and I, therefore, suggested that the Administrative Officer should be a Government servant under the control of the Education Department. His appointment should be made by Government or the D. P. I. as the case may be according to the size of the School Board and he should be under the disciplinary control of the D. P. I. The other powers and duties of the School Board might remain as they were.

2. The salary scales of Primary teachers should be suitably upgraded.

3. Expansion of Primary education should take place at a reasonable pace. The existing stagnation should cease. In view of the paucity of funds it might not be possible to provide for compulsory education in the immediate future. What might be done was to provide at least a lakh of rupees every year in addition to the previous year's budget for expansion on a voluntary basis. I suggested that private

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agencies might be encouraged to start schools in school-less villages and grants-in-aid on a capitation basis might be paid to them. According to this scheme, at least some 50 new schools should be started every year and this would mean some improvement in the situation.

In the light of my subsequent experience, I am surprised at the modesty of my third suggestion above. We provided crores and crores of rupees for the development of Primary education in the Bombay State, when I was the head of the Education Department, and yet in 1937, I could only suggest to the Education Minister the provision of a modest sum of a lakh of rupees for developmental purposes. A lākh was a tremendously big sum in those days to my mind; for then all our efforts in the office of the D. P. I. were concentrated on reduction of expenditure and not on increase. I handed over the note to Smt. Hansa Mehta and while giving it, I thought that I had committed a great sin against the tradition and discipline of the Education Department. I felt the same pangs of conscience as one would feel while committing one's first theft. I was careful enough not to sign the note; but apparently Smt. Hansa Mehta made a pencil note of the fact that it was written by me. I did not call on the Education Minister again during the session; but I used to see the Parliamentary Secretary, Smt. Mehta, now and then according to Shri Kher's instructions. In those days, the Government of Bombay used to meet in Poona during the wet season and go back to Bombay towards the end of October. I saw Smt. Mehta just before Government left for Bombay. She said, Shri Kher had seen my note and he was very pleased with it. "Of course, he has some other ideas as well and he will discuss them with you in due course", she added. I noticed that I was not the only one Shri Kher had asked to write a note on changes to be made in educational administration. I saw heaps of notes with Smt. Mehta and among them one written by a retired Administrative Officer of Poona. I noticed that his advice was, "Scrap the P. E. Act and take over the entire control of Primary education." He was one of the many to suggest that drastic remedy. Most of the Brahmin officers had suffered a considerable lot at the hands of the School Boards in Maharashtra and Karnatak. They naturally brought great pressure to bear on Shri Kher to scrap the Act and go back to the pre-1925 position. Gujarat, on the other hand, had been somewhat slow in taking over the control of Primary Education under the 1923 Act; but having taken over, the Boards were keen on retaining their democratic set-up. They, therefore, put up a strong fight against any move to curtail the powers of the School Boards. Shri Kher was, therefore, in a fix and didn't know what to do. Apart from the official recommendations of the D. P. I. he

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had discussions with several officers of the Department. One of the main complaints against the 1923 Act was that even the inspecting officers had been transferred to the School Boards. Government retained only a skeleton staff—one or two per district—and this staff was not enough to ensure the proper functioning of the schools or to see that there was an adequate return for the public expenditure on Primary education. Apart from this, there was great discontent among the members of the Subordinate inspecting staff for want of suitable promotions. We all suggested that the inspecting staff should be taken over by the Department and that the post of the Deputy Educational Inspector for each district should be revived. The Primary Education Act was accordingly amended in 1938, with the following changes :

(a) The Administrative officers of the School Boards were made Government servants and all powers of control over the teaching staff vested in them and not in the School Boards.

(b) The powers of inspection were resumed by Government. The posts of the Deputy Educational Inspectors which were held in abeyance since 1925 were revived. The subordinate inspecting staff which was employed by the School Boards was taken over into Government service.

These were radical reforms which had to be effected in the public interest. There was consternation in the Bombay province. Both the tempo and the principles of the Bill embodying the above changes in the Primary Education Act were sharply criticized by the opposition members of the Provincial Legislature as well as the general public. Because of the strong discipline prevailing then in the Congress Legislature party, the Bill was accepted, but many members were sceptical about it. The non-Brahmins—they still formed quite a formidable party outside the Congress fold—and the Gujaratis were bitter in their attacks on Government for depriving the School Boards of their powers. The Departmental officers, on the other hand, were happy, because they were sick of the maladministration by the School Boards. I was then officiating as Dy. D. P. I. in charge of Primary Education.

These amendments in the Primary Education Act were to come into force with effect from June 1938, while the legislation was passed in March of the same year. Probably with the oral concurrence of the Chief Minister, the officiating D. P. I. (Mr. Moos), issued a circular to all the School Boards not to appoint any fresh inspecting officers during the intervening period and that if they did, such officers would not be taken into Government service. Despite these instructions, many Boards appointed a number of inspectors of Primary schools and challenged the legal validity of the D. P. I.'s circular. I

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remember the Bijapur District School Board appointed as many as six such officers during a short period of three months. The same was the case in other districts. Shri Latthe was interested in some such appointments made in the Satara district and took the lead in squashing the D. P. I.'s instructions. Legal examination of the circular proved that there was no basis or jurisdiction for it under the provisions of the P. E. Act.

Shri Kher's idea in effecting these changes was not merely to take away the powers from the School Boards, but also to bring about good administration in view of the large-scale expansion of Primary education that was to take place shortly under the Congress regime. There was no doubt at all that his views on education generally were enlightened, but the public criticized him severely and charged him with being motivated by communal considerations. Shri Kher was a Brahmin and the Boards were, by and large, under the control of non-Brahmins. There is not much justification for this charge, for Shri Kher was an idealist and had the vision of an enlightened society without any consideration of caste or creed. The energy and vitality he evinced in tackling the problems of education from pre-Primary to the University stage were amazing. Physical education, audio-visual education, adult education, libraries received as much of his attention as the other branches of education. Above all he was concerned with the quality and expansion of Primary education. The idea of Basic education was apparently uppermost in the minds of the Congress people then, for it had been mooted by Mahatma Gandhi himself. He appointed a number of committees to explore the feasibility of those new schemes. At that time, Shri V. D. Ghate was Educational Inspector, Bombay division and was very popular with the Congress Party. Mr. Grieve used to say, "Mr. Ghate is chairman of as many as 36 committees and it is difficult to see how he finds any time for his own work of inspection and administration." Whatever may have been the actual outcome of these schemes, there is no doubt at all that Shri Kher meant well. I had suggested to him the possibility of literacy efforts through evening classes and voluntary schools. Government or Board schools cost a good deal of money. From times immemorial, voluntary agencies such as religious maths have been responsible for the spread of education among the village folk in India. I had suggested in my note to Shri Kher the provision of a lakh of rupees to start with for such voluntary schools. Shri Kher actually provided 5 lakhs of rupees for this work and for a number of years private educational bodies undertook the educational work in villages where there were no Local Authority schools. Similarly provision was

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made to encourage people to undertake the work of spreading literacy among the illiterate people, among the working classes in cities as well as in villages. There were many conferences in which the principles and philosophy of Basic Education were discussed. On the whole, it appeared that the new Bombay province was pulsating with a new life in the field of education under the dynamic leadership of Shri Kher. To some of us in the department who were anxious for the educational advancement, Shri Kher was a real God-send!

Meantime, there were many changes in the administrative personnel. Government decided that the system of appointing European officers taken on a 5-year contract, should not be continued thereafter. The British officers had found it more convenient to serve on a contract basis. This would enable them to start on a high salary and have the advantage of Provident Fund when they chose to go back. There were some three British officers of this type—Dr. T. S. Wheeler, Principal of the Royal Institute of Science, Mr. E. Hudson Davies, and Mr. S. S. Cameron. With the decision of Government to discontinue the system of contract appointments, they disappeared from the scene. It was a pity, for they were all able persons. The departure of Dr. Wheeler, who had done so much to encourage research work in the Institute of Science, Bombay, was particularly a great loss to the Bombay province. The circumstances in which Government took this decision will be clear from what follows.

I was appointed Deputy D. P. I. on an officiating basis once in 1937 and again in 1938. The last appointment was in a long vacancy. Mr. Grieve proceeded on leave for about six months in May 1938. So Mr. Moos, the Dy. D. P. I. became D. P. I. and I took the place of Mr. Moos. According to long-standing traditions of the Department, a person who was Dy. D. P. I. would *ipso facto* be promoted to the position of D. P. I. in due course, if the D. P. I. retired earlier than the Dy. D. P. I. My officiating appointment as Deputy Director for nearly six months was naturally resented by the officers of the Department who were senior to me. After all, I had hardly put in eight years' service in the Department and there were at least 25 persons senior to me then. These senior officers were all in the collegiate branch and had no experience of administration. So at that time, it looked as though I would, in due course, succeed Mr. Moos as D. P. I. But according to the policy of the Bombay Government, if the D. P. I. was from the administrative branch, the Dy. D. P. I. might be from the collegiate branch so that with the necessary training and experience, he could eventually be appointed to the position of D. P. I. So, the post of Dy. D. P. I. was a key post in the Education Department.

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This set many senior college Professors and Principals thinking. There was another complication. I was not in the Indian Education Service, but only in the Bombay Education Service Class I. This made all the difference. The members of the former had their rights safeguarded by the Secretary of State for India, and until the last man in that service retired, there was no chance of any promotion for the others to the key posts. The members of the I. E. S. were, therefore, looking forward to the only plum available in the Department, This was natural and nobody could blame them for it. The sudden stoppage of recruitment to the I. E. S. in 1924, had created, however, some administrative anomalies. Before that, one of the most suitable and senior officers, including those of the collegiate branch, was selected to the post of Dy. D. P. I., trained for a few years in that position and then promoted to the post of D. P. I. If a senior member was superseded on account of his unsatisfactory record or unsuitability for a key-post in the Department, the Secretary of State for India would not have bothered to interfere. But after 1920, Education was a subject under the control of a popular Minister and the Secretary of State for India was inclined to protect the interests of the I. E. S. officers if they were superseded by a non-I. E. S. person for any key post such as that of Principal of a college or of Dy. D. P. I. However, there was one instance of I. E. S. officers being superseded by a non-I. E. S. officer, when in 1930, Dr. T. S. Wheeler was directly recruited in England as Principal of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay. Somehow, the then D. P. I. Mr. R. H. Beckett, did not consider any of the senior Professors in the various branches of Science worthy of being appointed Principal of the Royal Institute of Science. Some of them had Ph. D. or D. Sc. degrees of Indian or foreign universities and were quite capable of turning out excellent research work if proper encouragement had been given to them. Perhaps there was some difficulty about some senior persons being superseded, if research work was the main requirement for the post of Principal of the Royal Institute of Science. When Dr. Wheeler came to be appointed Professor of Chemistry and Principal of the Institute on a contract basis, the senior Professors of science in the Department could have protested against his appointment. Perhaps they did not. If they had, they might have been informed by Government that their work was not of such a calibre as to justify their appointment to the position of Principal. Actually, Prof. G. R. Paranjpe acted as Principal for a few months, and was terribly disappointed when Dr. Wheeler took over.

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The position had now changed. There was provincial autonomy instead of Dyarchy. The senior members of the I. E. S. had access to the Chief Minister. Some of the members of the Administrative branch also were not happy over contract appointments. Perhaps all these officers strongly represented unofficially to Shri Kher the desirability of discontinuing the contract appointments. That is how the British officers' contracts were not renewed after their expiry. This done, the next move on the part of the senior I. E. S. officers in the collegiate branch was to put in their claims for the post of D. P. I. When I was appointed Dy. D. P. I. in 1938, they naturally thought it was a proper occasion to bring to the notice of Shri Kher the injustice done them in leaving them out of the purview of such key posts in the Department. Shri Kher realised the situation and agreed to give a chance to a senior I. E. S. collegiate officer to serve as Dy. D. P. I. and then as D. P. I. There was nothing wrong in this. The proper thing to do, however, was to consult the D. P. I. Mr. Grieve, regarding the most suitable senior person among the I. E. S. officers of the collegiate branch for appointment to an administrative post. Mr. Grieve was to retire in 1940 and Mr. Moos in 1945, and the person to be considered for the post of D. P. I. after Mr. Moos should have as long a period of service as possible. The general convention was that such a person should have about five years' service as Head of the Department; but the most junior I. E. S. officer to be considered for post of the D. P. I. after Mr. Moos was Prof. K. R. Gunjikar who would have had about four years' service after the retirement of Mr. Moos. Had the Department been consulted in the matter, probably Shri Gunjikar might have been recommended.

Within a year or so of assumption of office by the Kher Government, there was sufficient distrust between the Heads of Departments and their respective Ministers. Perhaps Mr. Kher acted on his own in selecting such a person for the future headship of the Education Department. By that time, he had acquired a fair amount of mastery over and self-confidence in details of administration. He used to look carefully into the confidential reports of all the officers and while reading such reports, came across the personal file of Mr. Seal, Professor of Philosophy in Elphinstone College, Bombay. He was the despair of all the officers under whom he served. All the Principals of colleges in the twenties used to be British officers. Mr. Seal had served Karnatak College, Gujarat College and Elphinstone College and no British Principal had given him a clean confidential report. He was perhaps a good Professor of Philosophy, but his salient characteristic was to quarrel with his superior officers over trifles.

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Although the confidential reports were generally not satisfactory, there was one recent report by an Indian Principal full of praise for him. This made Shri Kher believe that Mr. Seal was an outstanding officer and that the European officers had condemned him because he was a nationalist of a kind.

There was another development in the Department which made Shri Kher cautious in selecting a Professor for the post of future D. P. I. He found in Mr. Moos the acting D. P. I., a person who was peculiarly obdurate. Mr. Moos had set views on education and was not very receptive to new ideas. He certainly did his best to discourage Government from embarking on new ventures like compulsory education or Basic education. Mr. Moos had some very good points, in particular thoroughness and impartiality as administrator, but unfortunately he was not a good mixer. He had hardly any friends who could bring his good points to the notice of the Congress leaders. On the other hand, there were many who told Shri Kher that it would be difficult for him to carry out any policy of improvement in Education with Mr. Moos as D. P. I. From May to November 1938, Mr. Moos officiated as D. P. I. and, it appears, failed to make any impression on Shri Kher. The Congress people had deep prejudices against him and Shri Kher thought that it was impossible to achieve any improvement in the Education Department if he continued as D. P. I. By that time, I had served in the office of the D. P. I. for a little over four years—for about three years and a half as Asst. D. P. I. and eight months as Dy. D. P. I. Had the present arrangement continued, I should have suceeded Mr. Moos as D. P. I. Government thought it was desirable to have fresh blood in the D. P. I.'s office. I was utterly indifferent to all sorts of rumours that were afloat at the time, as I was still a junior officer and did not bother about who would succeed Mr. Grieve. In any case, Mr. Grieve had still a year's service. One day in October 1938, Mr. Moos sent for me to his office. He was looking haggard when he slowly unburdened himself, "Pavate, you are to go as Educational Inspector, Central Division when Grieve returns. I proceed on long leave and Seal takes my place as Dy. D. P. I. Nurullah will take your place in the office." Although I had heard that some such thing was in the offing, I felt sorry for Mr. Moos. I asked "Will you come back after your leave?" He replied "I may proceed on leave preparatory to retirement. I do not think the Congress Government will have me back in the office. We are not hitting it off." Although Mr. Moos and I were not anything like intimate friends, I felt very sympathetic for him on this occasion. So I said, "Well, I am very sorry for you, Mr. Moos; but I do hope you will come

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back to the Department." Although Mr. Moos had a closed mind on many issues of policy, he was an able and knowledgeable officer. What impressed me most on this occasion was the fact that he did not show any outward bitterness towards Government as so many officers do in similar circumstances. He said, "After all, Government must have a D. P. I. in whom they have confidence. Although I am personally disappointed I can't make a grievance of it. They offered to fix me up as Principal of a college. I have been designed for an administrative post and I can't take at this stage a teaching appointment." He also confessed that he had many sleepless nights during the period of five months, when he was officiating as D. P. I. He certainly rose in my estimation for the nonchalant manner in which he took this calculated snub.

In a few days I found myself in the office of the Educational Inspector at Poona. I had no complaint about this transfer, since I could not indefinitely stagnate in the D. P. I.'s office. I had more freedom and initiative as Educational Inspector than at headquarters, and I thoroughly enjoyed my new position. By this time, I had studied all important problems of educational administration and so I could carry out my inspection duties and deal with administrative problems with ease and confidence. I had learnt to dictate all my letters and reports with the result that the disposal of cases was quick. In fact I used to send my inspection reports of Secondary schools and training institutes within a week of the inspection. In all important administrative matters I used to ring up the D. P. I. and consult him before making my proposals. There was no longer the fear or hesitation which I used to have during the first four years of my service in Bombay. I had developed, during the eight years of my administrative experience an enormous amount of self-confidence. I would not tolerate any weak spot in the administration. If I noticed any sign of corruption or laziness on the part of my subordinates, I used to take the strongest possible action against the persons concerned. Within a few months of my appointment a Educational Inspector, Central division, I took action against the Administrative Officer, Poona, for maladministration of the schools under him. He had been an Administrative Officer for many years and I had found him extremely easy-going. His pay was reduced from Rs. 400 p.m. to Rs. 250 p.m. by Government in consultation with the Public Service Commission on my report on his administration. In fact a regular enquiry had been held into his conduct on certain affairs of the Poona Municipal School Board and I had submitted a big report of more than 100 pages on him. The Public Service Commission observed while agreeing to my recom-

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mendation of punishment "Mr. Pavate is quite lenient to the officer in recommending only a mild punishment of reduction of Rs. 150 in his pay, having regard to the public interest. This officer is an undesirable one and his work should be watched for a period of two years in the first instance, before taking him on a permanent basis in Government service." The position was that these Administrative Officers had been until recently independent officers under the School Boards. Now they were Government servants under the amended P. E. Act of 1938. They were generally indifferent to the work in the schools, but harsh and unfair to the Primary teachers. I took a strong line in this particular case, because I wanted all the officers to realise that as Government servants they had serious public duties to perform and that they were not merely to dance attendance upon influential members of the School Board. I wanted also the School Boards to realise that they could not order their officers about, as they used to do in the past.

This had, as expected, a salutary effect on the Administrative Officers of the other School Boards, for some time at least. They had enormous powers in regard to appointments and transfers of Primary teachers under the amended P. E. Act. This was bound to make some of the Administrative Officers corrupt and communal. I was carefully watching the situation. Very soon, there was a complaint before me from the Satara District that the Administrative officer was very partial in the matter of appointments and transfers of teachers. I could not take the complaint seriously, as the particular officer was a Government servant of long standing. He had been posted there by me in view of his long experience and good record of service. However, when I was camping at Satara, the complainant personally saw me and pointed out some acts of brazen-faced communalism and partiality in the administration under the new set up. He pointed out that a candidate of the Intermediate classes with more than 60% marks at the Primary School certificate examination (known as Vernacular final examination) had been rejected by the Administrative Officer and a candidate of an Advanced community with 35% marks had been posted as teacher. He further complained that the person appointed had been the Administrative Officer's menial servant; his master had pushed him through the Primary School Examination and finally given him this job. This particular A. O. was my favourite, as I had known him in the Sholapur district. I could not possibly believe that an experienced man of his status would behave so recklessly in a district which was the centre of the non-Brahmin movement. However, I discussed this complaint with the Administrative Officer and it turned

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out to be true. I immediately realised that we were fast slipping into the days of the pre-1923 administration as far as Primary education was concerned. I asked him what had made him do such a silly thing. His only excuse was that he thought that he had full powers to do anything he liked in the matter of appointments. I replied "That does not mean that you can indulge in corruption and nepotism." I took him to task but, it appeared to me desirable to eradicate the root cause of this malady. It was true that the new P. E. Act gave absolute power to the Administrative Officer, but he was also a subordinate officer in the Education Department and must carry out his duties in accordance with Departmental instructions. There was a clause in the Act to that effect. So I immediately wrote to the D. P. I. advising him to consider the desirability of issuing some instructions for the guidance of all A. Os. I quoted the case of the Satara district and recommended that the best remedy was to require the Administrative officer to make appointments strictly in order of merit, taking into consideration the concessions given by Government to the various communities.

According to the Government orders in those days, all subordinate, clerical and inferior posts were divided among the various communities in such a way that about 50°/。 of the posts went to the Intermediate classes (including Moslems) and about 15°/。 to the Backward classes (including Harijans). There was no communal reservation in respect of gazetted and higher posts. In regard to Subordinate posts which did not require high educational qualifications, the idea was to see that those posts were distributed among the three classes (Advanced, Intermediate and Backward) roughly in proportion to the strength of their population in the district, to ensure a measure of social justice. This distribution was necessitated by the fact that the officers in the district who were competent to make such appointments either belonged to the Advanced communities or were under the influence of such officers. Very often they did not show natural justice to the other communities. Hence this rule.

Shri Syed Nurullah, who was in charge of Primary Education in the office of the D. P. I., made a thorough job of my suggestion regarding the issue of instructions to the Administrative Officers. He devised a system by which both quality and fairness to the various communities were ensured for each district. The population of the Intermediate classes in each district was about 70°/。 and that of the Advanced classes 5°/。 in most districts in Maharashtra and Karnatak. He, therefore, suggested that the recruitment of Primary teachers should proceed in accordance with the proportion: 10°/。 Advanced, 65°/。 Intermediate classes and 25°/。 Backward classes.

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The instructions also required that no candidate belonging to the Advanced communities who had not obtained more than 60% marks at the P. S. C. examination should be considered for appointment. Even in the case of Backward classes, a minimum of 40% marks in the aggregate was required. Thus it was a fool-proof arrangement under which no A. O. could appoint a cook or a menial servant as teacher. This of course, severely restricted the number of appointments to the Advanced communities, but that was justified on the ground of their population and also in view of the fact that well qualified candidates were available in sufficient numbers from the other communities. The prevailing high-handed practice in those days justified, according to the D. P. I., such instructions to the A. O's. A copy of this circular was sent to the Government for perusal by the office of the D. P. I., but apparently no notice was taken at that time by Government in view of the political developments in thec ountry consequent upon the out break of the Second World War. After the War, Shri Kher told me that the circular was manifestly unfair to the Advanced communities.

There are always some cases of malpractice by teachers in every district which are ignored by the Inspecting officers. It was one of my habits to pay surprise visits to schools and find out whether there was anything the matter with them. I often noticed that the Headmasters or Head-mistresses of Primary schools in villages were absent. Then I used to call for a report from the District Inspecting Officer (Deputy Educational Inspector) and take suitable action. As I used to travel in my own car, I could visit many schools on the way. One of the most amusing incidents in my experience was at Soni, a village in the southern part of Satara district. The Headmaster of the school was taking a leading part in village politics. There were two parties in the village and he was intimately associated with one of them. He also took fees from the children without entering their names in the school register. He just pocketed the amount without the knowledge of any of the officers. Once he inflicted heavy corporal punishment on a boy who was attending the school regularly, but whose name was not registered at all. Apparently the boy's father belonged to the party opposed to the Headmaster. Some members of the party complained to me about the incident and all they wanted was the Headmaster's transfer. As usual, I called for a report from the Deputy Educational Inspector and it turned out that the complaints made in their petition were substantially true. It happened that my Personal Assistant was a former Administrative officer of the Satara district and

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was personally interested in the politics of Soni and its Headmaster. When the report was received in my office, my Personal Assistant wrote on it "file". So it did not reach me at all although I had caused the enquiry to be made. After a few days, some members of the party concerned again met me in Poona and explained the position. So I sent a note to my office to put up all the relevant papers to me in that connection and to remind the Deputy Educational Inspector if the report had not yet arrived. Then the papers were shown to me and I asked the P. A. what right he had to "file" a report meant for me, without showing it to me. He expressed his regret; but I could see that the Headmaster of Soni was a pretty influential man. Ordinarily the transfer of the Headmaster in such cases meets the ends of justice. So I sent the Dy. Educational Inspector's report to the Administrative officer with a remark that he should be transferred to another place and take such further action as he deemed fit regarding the misappropriation of school fees. So the A. O. fined him Rs. 5 and transferred him to another school, but the matter did not rest there.

In those days, everybody had access to Government. So, the Headmaster's party complained to Government that I had revived the Headmaster's case unnecessarily and that *I was interested* in the local politics. Apparently, the party was very powerful, for I received a Government order to submit a full report on the case and that, meantime, I should stay the transfer order. The Headmaster concerned belonged to an Advanced community and naturally attributed communal motives to me in raking up a case which my P. A. had closed. Apparently, my P. A. in the office, who also belonged to an Advanced class, was more important in the eyes of the Soni people than myself. Anyway, I sent a report to Government explaining the position and stating in particular that my Personal Assistant who was a former A. O. of that district, was personally interested in the case, and had no right to suppress the papers. The Administrative officer had acted within his rights and no appeal against his order lay with Government under the P. E. Act. I pointed this out to Government and yet they did not pass any orders about the transfer of the teacher. This became a sensational case in the district. It was eventually noticed by the Government auditors who made a remark in their report to the effect that the headmaster had misappropriated a part of the school-fees due to the School Board. This came eventually to the notice of the District Magistrate and he asked the School Board why the Headmaster should not be prosecuted. By that time, the Congress Government had gone out of office and

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the teacher was made to retire at the instance of the District Magistrate. This is an instance of the vexatious interference of a popular Government in petty matters. Government were within their rights to call for a report from me or the District officer; but to issue stay orders and not take any decision on it even though all the facts of the case were made known to them was not justifiable. This kind of interference in the day-to-day administration was much in evidence during the first regime of the Congress Government. It was due to two reasons—lack of experience and lack of trust in the officers. They did not, at first, realise what damage they would do to the State, by upsetting the normal administrative machinery.

Apart from this, Shri Kher showed his characteristic vigour in tackling all outstanding problems of Education. Although his main interest was Primary Education, he did not rest satisfied with only what he did to improve Primary education as set forth in the preceding pages. There was hardly any branch of education which he did not touch. He was indeed keen on overhauling the whol esystem of education and putting it on sound lines to meet the needs of Independent India. It did not take him long to realise that the Government Secondary schools no longer served the purpose of model schools. The key to the improvement of Secondary education lay in improving the general condition of the High schools run by private managements. There were then 25 Secondary schools conducted by Private Managements for every school run by the State. And roughly 20°/。 of the private Secondary schools received the grants due to them under the grant-in-aid code (i.e. at about 30°/。 of the approved expenditure). The rest were paid only token grants, if at all and it happened that many of them were not paid any grant. Some were well looked after by the Government while the others were in a precarious condition. Shri Kher ordered that all schools meant for boys should be paid grants at 20% of the approved expenditure and that all girls' Secondary schools should receive grants at 25°/。 of their approved expenditure. The distinction between the privileged and the non-privileged schools disappeared, all schools being levelled up or levelled down to the new rates. On the whole, this order had a heartening effect on the Secondary schools, although some schools which were paid at higher rates had reasons to grumble. Government Secondary schools were to restrict themselves to the teaching of such courses as were not ordinarily provided for in private schools. The intention was to discontinue Government High Schools teaching the ordinary Matriculation courses. Some of them were converted into Vocational High schools i.e. Technical, Agricultural, or Commercial High schools in which a

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practical bias was introduced.

Almost immediately after coming into power, the Kher Government appointed a Physical Education Committee with Swami Kuvalayananda (Shri Gune) as its Chairman. Shri Kher always set high store by physical and military education, but was not able to achieve much during the short period of two and a half years of the first regime.

Now we turn to the affairs in the office of the D. P. I. When Mr. Grieve returned from leave towards the end of 1938, he found Prof. B. N. Seal as his Deputy and Shri Syed Nurullah as his Assistant. He could rely on Shri Nurullah as he had sufficient experience in administration. Seal, however, was new to this responsible position. As far as portfolios were concerned, the Asst. D. P. I. and the Dy. D. P. I. exchanged their traditional duties so that the Asst. D. P. I. was now in charge of Primary education and the Dy. D. P. I. was in charge of Secondary education and Accounts. To be fair to Seal, he produced an excellent note at the instance of Government on scientific terminology. The Government was anxious even at that time to change the medium of instruction in the colleges. Seal's suggestions ran counter to Raghuvir's ideas, as he recommended that the English terms should remain as far as possible in our science books in Indian languages. That done, Seal settled down to his work as Dy. D. P. I. He was not interested in routine work. What he wanted was power and influence. Such cases were, however, dealt with by Mr. Grieve himself. He used to put up notes for or against officers which Mr. Grieve ignored. Then he started writing to Government direct on matters which were not his concern as Dy. D. P. I. In matters like appointments or promotions, Government found very often two separate recommendations—one by the D. P. I. and another by his Deputy. Since Mr. Seal was a *persona grata* with the Chief Minister, Mr. Grieve was anxious to accommodate him as far as possible, but it was difficult for any one to make him behave like a disciplined officer. Whenever he came across a file containing Mr. Grieve's recommendation on a vital issue, he would make a counter proposal and sign for the D. P. I. Very often he would say, "In continuation of my previous letter No........I write to say that on reconsideration the proposal made by me is not a sound one, etc....." and sign for the D. P. I. This would suggest that Mr. Seal had made the counter-proposal at the instance of the D. P. I. Actually, Mr. Grieve explained to him orally and in writing several times that it was not correct procedure. If he had anything to say, it was open to him to do so on his own authority and not for the D. P. I. Seal just gloried

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in being different and not following any conventional procedure. He worked on the assumption that he was already D. P. I. He regaled me, whenever I dropped into his room, with stories of his performance all tending toward indiscipline! Matters became worse when Mr. Grieve was appointed Joint Secretary in addition to being D. P. I. For three days in the week he was required to be in the Bombay Secretariat, and for the remaining three days he had to be at Poona. The Secretariat officers were at a loss to know which letter of the D. P. I. was the genuine one. There was general confusion in the Department.

The experiment of entrusting to one person the responsibilities of D. P. I. and Jt. Secretary was a failure. Whenever a case was referred to Mr. Grieve as Jt. Secretary in the Secretariat, he would either simply initial it or mark it to the D. P. I. for an unofficial reference. The fact was that he did not pull his weight as Jt. Secretary. The main idea in making Mr. Grieve Jt. Secretary was to avoid a large number of unofficial references of the files to the D. P. I. in Poona. Mr. Grieve was not helpful in the expeditious disposal of cases. At that time Dr. Sorley was the Secretary in the Education Department. He and Mr. Grieve were both Scots and were great friends. The former had to pull planty of chestnuts out of the fire for the latter.

Dr. Sorley must have brought Mr. Seal's acts of indiscipline to the notice of Shri Kher, the Chief Minister. Mr. Seal's policy was to find out what some important Congress leaders wanted and then put it to Government on his own initiative, without rhyme or reason. There is no doubt that within a year of his appointment as Deputy D. P. I., Government was thoroughly fed up with him. Despite the many headaches Mr. Seal gave Mr. Grieve, the latter showed such patience, tolerance and common sense that we all admired his magnificent behaviour during that difficult period for Government officers. By the end of 1939, Shri Kher was a thoroughly disillusioned man. He realised that he had been rather hasty in forming his opinions on the men and affairs of the Education Department. There was no hope of obtaining any good results by encouraging Seal as Dy. D. P. I. On the other hand, it had created a good deal of discontent and jealousy among the senior members of the I. E. S. Many years afterwards, Shri Kher told me that the appointment of Mr. Seal as Dy. D. P. I. had been one of his serious errors of judgement. Now the problem was who should be the D. P. I. after Mr. Grieve. He was to retire in a few months. Mr. Seal was out of the question. Any other senior I. E. S. officer without training as Dy. D. P. I. was ruled out. Myself and Mr. Nurullah were too junior for the post, as we had put in less than ten years of service. The only person who was suitable for the post

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of D. P. I. was Mr. Moos ; but Shri Kher had a deep prejudice against him. This, in my view, was the result of an exaggerated account of Mr. Moos's lack of sympathy for any schemes of development, conveyed to Shri Kher by irresponsible people.

Meantime, Shri Kher wanted to appoint a small committee to look into the anomalies which had crept into the pay-structure of primary teachers owing to constant revisions. Shri Kher was extremely sympathetic to teachers and wanted to improve their lot. His idea was to have a two-member committee, one official and the other non-official. He had decided upon Shri M. R. Paranjpe as the non-official member, but he was in a great difficulty to find out an officer who was well-acquainted with the problem. It appears that Shri Paranjpe advised Shri Kher to have Mr. Moos as the official member of the committee, as he was the best informed officer on the subject. None of us in the Department knew what exactly happened, but there is no doubt that some important non-officials informed Shri Kher that Shri Moos, despite his defects, was an impartial, well-informed and able officer and that his prejudice against him was unjustified. After a few months of Mr. moos's exile, people began to miss him. That always happens when people have uncalled for prejudice against a well-meaning and self-respecting officer. Mr. Moos was not a man to go out of the way. He had his principles and a high sense of professional dignity. On the advice of some of his reliable friends, Shri Kher eventually appointed Shri Moos as the official member of the committee for the fixation of the salaries of the primary teachers in the various scales. This naturally meant that Mr. Moos would come back to the office and take over as D. P. I. after the retirement of Mr. Grieve. After the Committee's work was over, he was reappointed to his post of Dy. D. P. I. and Mr. Seal was sent to the Secondary Teachers' College, Bombay, as Principal.

Towards the end of 1939, the second World War broke out. The Congress party had its views then about the war with Germany and decided to ask the Provincial Governments to resign. Early in 1940 the Kher Government resigned and the Section 93 regime commenced. Meantime, Mr. Grieve also retired and Mr. Moos succeeded him as Head of the Education Department. We were all sorry we could not give Mr. Grieve an official farewell party as the date of his departure from India was kept a well guarded secret, on account of the war. He was perhaps one of the most popular British officers the Department ever had. He was kind and sociable and despite his asthmatic trouble, jovial.

Taking a general view of the Congress Government in the States

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during the period of 1937-40, one could easily say that they did very well indeed in all the provinces. In Bombay province, we had in Shri B. G. Kher a great Chief Minister who was anxious to maintain a clean and good Government. The Ministers were motivated by high ideals of service to the people over whom they ruled. The Congress party was then struggling hard to unite all people in India to be able to obtain Swaraj from the British. To that end they went a little out of the way to placate Moslems and the Backward communities; but by and large they held the scales even in the day-to-day administration. They formed a Government without any experience of administration, and it was natural that in the initial stage, they trusted too well some self-seeking persons. They, however, had the courage of their convictions and in due course, rectified the wrongs done, when they realised their mistake as in the case of Messrs. Seal and Moos. On the whole, we were extremely lucky in having Shri Kher in the Bombay province as its Chief Minister. He picked up his work remarkably well in less than three months and was in a position to make suitable changes in the drafts put up by the seasoned British I. C. S. officers !

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN :

basic education

With the assumption of power by the Congress Party in most of the provinces of India in 1937, there arose a controversy about the nature and content of education in the Primary schools particularly in rural India. The immediate cause of the controversy was finance. The question was how on earth could we educate all our people with our limited resources. A simple calculation clearly showed that, if by spending two crores of rupees in the Bombay province on education, we could make only about 10°/₀ of the people literate, we would need about 20 crores of rupees for the education of all the people—at a time when the whole revenue of the province was about Rs. 16 crores. Many leaders shuddered at the magnitude of the problem. This was one aspect of the controversy. The second was the purpose of education. Are we to keep on producing 'white-collared' young men, who are not fit for any creative occupation? The British Government in India wanted clerks and lower grade officers. Now we wanted leaders in industry, agriculture and public service and generally persons who had the technical know-how of production of wealth for the country. Could not we devise a system of education under which the villagers, by and large, would remain in the villages, earn a decent living and contribute to the development of their villages? These were some of the questions which haunted the minds of the thinking public at the time. Moreover, we have problems peculiar to India, such as communal harmony, rural economy, etc. which have to be seriously tackled if we want our country to be a strong and united nation. A large volume of public opinion held that Educational Reconstruction was absolutely necessary in Independent India, but there were differences of opinion regarding the exact lines on which we should proceed.

This problem aroused the interest of Mahatma Gandhi, who applied, during this period, his mind to the question of evolving a system of national education which would be in harmony with the genius of the Indian people. His immediate concern was to solve the

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problem of mass education in a practicable way and within as short a time as possible. So Mahatmaji came forward with a scheme of education through a craft. The idea, expressed in simple words was that some craft or productive work should form the centre of all the other instruction provided in the school. This craft, if properly taught, should enable the school to pay its own way. Since the schools would be self-supporting, it would enable the States to introduce immediately the scheme of free and compulsory Primary education. Broadly speaking, that was the main principle of the scheme of Basic education as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi. Naturally, this created a furore at the time. Many were sceptical about meeting the pay of the teachers and other expenses of the school from the articles produced by the children—even if they were saleable—a proposition far from realistic. After all, nobody could seriously object to the introduction of a craft or a vocational subject in the school curriculum. That is done in many countries. In the Bombay province, there were more than hundred Agriculture-bias Primary schools in which education in the Upper Primary stage (i. e. standards V to VII) was based on agriculture and allied subjects like carpentry and smithy. They were started during the period 1920-23 and were serving a useful purpose. A model farm was attached to each school. On the whole, they were quite popular. The concept of a Basic school as propounded by Mahatmaji in his journal *Harijan* and later at the Wardha National Education Conference, was, however, different from the ordinary concept of Vocational, Primary or Secondary, schools in two ways.

(a) Basic education envisaged the teaching of a craft right from the beginning, from Std. I onwards, while, according to the previous thinking, children up to the age of ten should not be subjected to any productive craft or to vocational training which causes fatigue.

(b) Basic education was, on the whole, expected to be self-supporting, while the idea of recovering the cost of education from the agricultural or vocational output was absent in the educational theory of the past.

The principle of correlation of all subjects with one another as far as possible, is educationally sound. History and Geography are correlated subjects, at least at the school stage. Similarly, Mathematics and Science, Language and any other cognate subjects could be correlated. What hurt the conscience of many educationists was the earning potentiality of young children to make the school self-supporting. K. T. Shah, then a well known economist in the Congress circles said at the Wardha conference, "I think it is difficult to have self-

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supporting education, for, even those who render free service, have to spend from somewhere. It is wrong to think that the State should not bear any burden on education." The following speech of Dr. Zakir Hussain, then Principal, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, is quite illuminating in this context:

"Mahatmaji thinks that the scheme which he has placed before you is absolutely original and that it can be accepted only by those who believe in non-violence and in a rural civilization. But those who are working in the educational field will not find Mahatmaji's scheme very new. They know that true learning can be imparted only through doing. They also know that children have to be taught various subjects through manual work, no matter whether one believes in urban or rural civilization, in violence or non-violence. We teachers know that up to the age of thirteen, children want to do and undo, break and mend things. This is how nature educates them. To ask them to sit in a place with books is to do violence to them. Many educationists have, therefore, been trying to make some manual work the centre of education. In America this method is called the Project Method and in Russia the Complex Method. We can surely impart education to our children through the *takli* and the *charkha* and some other suitable handicrafts.

"But the greatest difficulty in carrying out the scheme will be the scarcity of trained teachers. If we have to teach all the subjects through the *takli*, we cannot pull on with untrained teachers. I myself am a teacher, but if I am asked today to teach all subjects through spinning, I shall have to face great difficulties. Of course, with the help of books which show the way of correlating general education with the various processess of cloth-making, I should be able to teach my students. The preparation of such text-books will require some time and labour.

"I wish to say a few words regarding the self-supporting aspect of education. Wherever the experiment has been tried, it has not been possible to make education self-supporting. In America, Prof. Dewey had a similar plan, which was welcomed enthusiastically, but he had to close down his school after a few years. America is a country where there is no scarcity of funds or State help. If the experiment could not succeed there, what hope of success has it in a poor country like ours?"

"You will say that we want self-supporting schools because we are poor. But I should like to utter a note of warning. The greatest evil of the present system of education is examinations. At present all the teachers' energy is concentrated on examinations. But there is a danger of over-emphasizing the self-supporting aspect of education.

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Teachers may become slave-drivers and exploit the labour of poor boys. If this happens, the *takli* will prove even worse than books. We shall be laying the foundation of hidden slavery in our country."

Many distinguished leaders took part in the All India National Conference held at Wardha on 22nd and 23rd October, 1937, under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. The extracts from speeches quoted above have been taken from the proceedings of the Conference.* It was very brave of Zakir Hussain to have expressed his views in a clear and concise manner at the Conference. There is no doubt at all that his views are shared by a large majority of teachers in India. Many Ministers who attended the Conference found themselves in a tight corner. Either they had never applied their mind to the theory and practice of education or they were sort of tongue-tied in the presence of Mahatmaji. Circumstances had contrived to put them in a position the responsibilities of which baffled them. On the one hand, they had not the courage to express their views on the subject assuming they had given any thought to it at all; and on the other, they had not the faintest idea as to how the new philosophy of education propounded by Mahatmaji could be put into practice. Mahatmaji on the other hand, was quite clear in his mind as to what he was advocating. He had experience of teaching in South Africa as well as in the Ahmedabad Ashram and at Sevagram. That is why he wrote with confidence on the subject of Basic Education in his journal *Harijan* every week. He wrote towards the end of July, 1937, as under :

"I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only, every handicraft has to be taught not mechanically as is done today, but scientifically, i.e. the child should know the why and wherefore of every process. I am not writing without some experience. This method is being adopted more or less completely wherever spinning is taught to workers. I have myself taught sandal-making and even spinning on those lines with good results. This method does not exclude a knowledge of History and Geography. But I find that this is best taught by transmitting such general information by word of mouth. One imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing. The signs of the alphabet may be taught later, when the pupil has learnt to distinguish wheat from chaff and when he has somewhat developed his or her taste. This is a revolutionary proposal, but it saves immense labour

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*Educational Reconstruction—published by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha. vide pp. 45 to 86.

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and enables a student to acquire in one year what he may take much longer to learn. This means all round economy. Of course, the pupil learns Mathematics whilst he is learning his handicrafts." Later on, while trying to dispel the doubts of some leaders in educational thought, Mahatma Gandhi wrote firmly," ...... surely, if the State takes charge of the children between seven and fourteen and trains their bodies and minds through productive labour, the public schools must be frauds and teachers idiots, if they cannot be self-supporting." This clinched the issue. No Congress Minister of Education at the time thought his position to be a bed of roses. If he did not make a success of Basic education, he would fall out of grace, as he would not come up to the expectations of the Mahatma. And every one of them owed his position to him.

So Shri Kher approached the problem with caution. He said at the Wardha Conference, "Gandhiji's scheme requires teachers imbued with a feeling of national service. I am sure that, if we are able to find such teachers, the scheme will succeed and education can be self-supporting even within a year. Mahatmaji has clearly told us that a teacher who cannot make his students self-supporting within seven years, is worthless. I fear he may add that those Ministers who cannot launch the scheme are useless. I, therefore, wish to listen and understand the whole scheme before openly giving my assent to it. Several experiments in this direction are being tried in my province and the results make me feel hopeful about Gandhiji's revolutionary and epoch-making proposals. As Pandit Ravishankar Shukla (Minister of Education, C. P.) pointed out, we shall have to start a few experimental schools in each province before introducing the scheme wholesale." Shri Kher undoubtedly struck the right note at the Conference and, if he had stuck to his guns and retained the Basic schools only as experimental schools, good results would have followed. If Basic schools eventually failed in the country, it was almost entirely due to undue haste in trying to make them universal, without properly assessing the educational and economic achievements of the schools.

So, Shri Kher had to start some Basic schools in the Bombay province by way of experiment. The question arose who should be put in charge of those experiments. I had no illusions about the scheme. I had on several occasions said to Shri Kher that for the successful implementation of the scheme, we would need teachers well trained in the craft and convinced of its educational potentialities, and that it might take several years before we could launch the scheme even on an experimental basis. A training college for Basic Teachers in each region of the province, was the first requirement. Proper teachers for

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these colleges were to be selected, and adequate equipment was to be provided. This was a very great responsibility. Nobody would envy the officer who would eventually be selected for organising Basic education in the province. There was no doubt about it, for it entailed real hard work.

Two officers in the Education Department were, as the rumour went, considered for this responsible position—Shri V. D. Ghate and Shri L. R. Desai. Shri Ghate had experience as Administrative officer in the Ahmednagar district, in which capacity he had done excellent work. He had intimate knowledge of Primary education and was particularly interested in Agricultural-bias schools. He had produced a good report a few years before on the working and future of Agricultural-bias schools. Since he was a Maratha interested in rural life, nobody would have been surprised if he had been appointed as Special officer for Basic education. Shri L. R. Desai, on the other hand, had served all along in the field of Secondary education. He was a specialist teacher of Science and had, therefore, a more practical bent of mind than Shri Ghate, who was largely interested in literary activities. Shri Desai had a great reputation as a straightforward and serious-minded officer. The tie was between these two officers. There was not much money in the post. The officer would get his own pay and some special allowance, but he would be an independent officer for the whole province and would be practically free from the control of the D. P. I. If perhaps he made a success of the Basic education scheme, there was no doubt at all that he would be made an officer of the rank of D. P. I.—the post he would deserve by his merit and organising capacity. Hence the stakes were very high. Ultimately, Government selected Shri Desai and it was a big blow to Shri Ghate who had been the Congress Government's favourite all along. Anyway I expressed my sympathy to Shri Desai for being in a difficult situation and wished him success in the colossal task that lay ahead of him. The first thing he had to do was to purchase a couple of khaddar suits for himself and learn the mechanics of khaddar—all the processes, from raw cotton to weaving khaddar on a handloom. Shri Desai embarked on his new venture in dead earnest. He selected a few schools for conversion into Basic schools in each district, and teachers for them who had drive and enthusiasm for the new scheme. In a year's time, I could see remarkable changes in the Basic schools in my division. Each teacher in a Basic school, got a special allowance of Rs. 5 p. m. in addition to his normal pay. There was no doubt that this extra allowance made all the difference in their attitude towards their work! First of all, children were made to wash themselves if

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they were not sufficiently clean. A bucket of water, a towel and a soap-box were kept ready in the class-room. Children were also taught how to keep their clothes neat and tidy. They were made to practise spinning on their *takli* for three hours in the morning. New charts were made giving the evolution of man, the development of man's needs from time to time and how they were satisfied, the main historical events and geographical conditions, the environment of the village concerned, the different occupations in the village, etc. The main objective was to show the child Man's achievements and the part Nature played in those achievements, so that his curiosity and power of observation might be whipped up. Beautiful songs were composed and taught to the children. On many occasions, I was myself thrilled when I saw the spirit prevailing in those schools. The children were taught that India was a great country—the home of many cultures welded into one and that we were all a patriotic and united people. Compared with the dull and mechanical life in the schools of the ordinary type, the Basic schools seemed to be humming with life. All this was good and I was personally very happy about it. I thought this would certainly regenerate the countryside. There was only one thing wrong, from Gandhiji's point of view, and that was that these schools were costing more than the ordinary schools. Gandhiji's basic idea was eventually to make the whole of Primary education pay its own way through a particular craft. We were actually receding from that aim and making Basic schools more costly. To meet this criticism, Government withdrew the special allowance of Rs. 5 p. m. to Basic teachers and made certain other economies. Even so, the *charkhas* and other equipment cost a certain amount which it was not possible to recover from the yarn produced by children. Economy and efficiency seldom go together in education. All our efforts are directed towards making education commensurate with the amount expended on it. So, with these economies effected, the enthusiasm of the teachers for the new philosophy and practice of education began to flag. The spirit of Gandhiji's philosophy of education was little understood by the field workers. To teach the principles of Basic education to the administrators and the trainees in the Basic Training schools, a large number of self-styled 'Acharyas' made themselves available. Nobody had appointed them. I was unable to say how they lived. They just came to Training institutes and offered their services, and no Principal could reject them with impunity. Perhaps they had met Shri Kher somewhere and expressed their willingness to volunteer their services in some field or other. They had no special qualifications—professional or educational—for the training of Basic

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teachers. Some of them did not know what education was. On one occasion, such an Acharya was giving a talk to the teachers under training in the Loni Basic Training centre, in 1939. I was inspecting that training centre at the time. Obviously, the Acharya's talk had no connection whatsoever with the basic education as propagated by Mahatmaji. The teachers wanted to discuss some aspect of the talk with the Acharya. So a teacher asked the Acharya, "How could such and such a thing happen?" The Acharya went immediately into a rage and said, "You have been slaves all these years. What right have you to ask a question to me ?" This, of course, silenced the teachers. It did not occur to the Acharya that the teachers could not carry out his ideas if they themselves were not clear on the subject. If the purpose of Basic education was to develop the personality of the child in a free atmosphere, how could the teachers do it when their own curiosity was suppressed like this ? The Special officer for Basic Education, Shri L. R. Desai, was with me at the time of ins- pection and the behaviour of the Acharya pained him too. What could anybody do with such people? And yet, none of us could complain to the Minister against them, for he was sure to misunderstand us. Actually these Acharyas were great favourites with him!

This is not the only way in which outsiders created indiscipline in educational institutions. Some permanent teachers in Government High schools and training institutions thought it was great fun to join this or that party of field workers engaged in "National Reconstruction." Whenever a party went to a village to undertake the construction of an approach road or dig a well, some teachers left their school work and joined the party without taking previous permission of the D. P. I. or their immediate superior officer the Educational Inspector. I remember we received a letter in the office of the D. P. I. from a senior teacher in a training institute in which he had stated, "I am a great believer in the principles of Basic education which will create a new life in our country. We must contribute something for the development of our nation. A party of workers is going to construct a bridge over a stream in a village in Sholapur district. I cannot resist the temptation of joining the party. So I am leaving this place and will be back after a week. I hope you will excuse my absence." What on earth was he going to do in the construction of a bridge? He could be used, at the most, as an unskilled labourer. Was there any dearth of labour of this kind in the village? He was not anything like emotionally unbalanced. He was just a careerist. He thought by doing something unusual he would come to the notice of the Education Minister and hoped he would get a promotion in the

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Department out of turn. Mr. Moos was acting as D. P. I. at the time. He was furious when the letter was shown to him. But he could do nothing in the matter. The teacher concerned had already joined the working party and enjoyed a week's holiday at somebody's cost. Later on, I met him and asked whether he had ever seen a cotton plant. He came from the Ratnagiri district and had not the slightest idea of the soil and climate required for growing cotton. And this man hoped to be a leader in Basic education!

There has never been any doubt in my mind regarding the capacity of a Basic school, as conceived by Mahatmaji, to be both self-supporting and efficient. This, however, could be achieved only by an exceptionally brilliant and thoughtful teacher. It is not expected to be achieved on a mass scale in the public sector. There have been many experimental schools in the past all over the world where the desired objective has been achieved by some gifted teachers. The Oundle School in England made a great name towards the end of the last century as an outstanding school for original thinking in the philosophy of education. It was a Public School for hundreds of years with emphasis on Latin and the Humanities; but when Sanderson became the Principal, he changed the whole spirit of the school. He had workshops and laboratories constructed for the teaching of technology. He got the pupils engaged in some kind of vocational work in addition to other school subjects. The Latin spirit disappeared and its place was taken by activities. With the death of Sanderson, the school reverted to its original position as a Public School. H. G. Wells has made a hero of Sanderson by writing his biography "The Story of a Schoolmaster". It all depends on the type of men!

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN :

the problem of textbooks

The textbooks used in schools all over India leave much to be desired. There is hardly any State in India today where the public are quite satisfied with the mode of selecting or sanctioning textbooks in schools by the Education Department. Even our late Prime Minister was seized of the problem. Many States have, therefore, decided upon a policy of nationalisation of textbooks.

This problem existed even during the period of 1937-40. The then Congress Government of Bombay Province wanted to tackle the problem in a satisfactory manner. Then the lead in the matter, it appeared, was taken by Shri K. M. Munshi, the Home Minister and Smt. Lilavati Munshi, who was also an important member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. The Munshis were anxious that all the textbooks should be produced and distributed by a Government agency. This view was not shared by many educationists, particularly by the Education Department. Even Smt. Hansaben Mehta, who was then Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, was strongly opposed to the idea of nationalisation of the textbooks. In these circumstances, the Bombay Government decided to appoint a committee to examine the whole position regarding school textbooks.

The committee to be appointed to review our policy in regard to textbooks was to consist of officials and non-officials. After a good deal of discussion on the question of the personnel of the proposed committee and after taking into consideration the views of the D. P. I., Government appointed a committee of nineteen members—eight officials and eleven non-officials—under my Chairmanship towards the end of June, 1939. Shri L. R. Desai, Special Officer for Basic Education, was appointed Secretary. Shrimati Lilavati Munshi was an important non-official member, who practically controlled the majority of the non-official members, as they were in some way or other associated with the Congress organisation. The terms of reference were as follows :

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(i) To analyse the text-books available in the market with a view to seeing whether they are written on a scientific basis and whether the particular basis is suitable and, in case no suitable books are available, to invite prospective suitable writers and give them a rough outline of the requirements to enable them to prepare suitable books;

(ii) To consider the question of the number of sets of text-books to be sanctioned for use in schools under public management;

(iii) To consider the question of payment of honoraria to the writers as the copyright of the books to be approved by the committee will vest in Government which will undertake their publication;

(iv) To consider and advise Government on the point whether any embargo should be put in future on the text-books, published by a non-Government agency, which are used in private schools although they may be in the present approved lists published by the Director of Public Instruction;

(v) To consider the present policy of not favouring too frequent changes of text-books in schools, since this practice entails unnecessary expense on parents.

The Committee was also required to consider and advise Government whether the period of three years prescribed for a change in text-books requires any modification and if so, what the revised period should be and whether the rule should be discretionary, as at present, or mandatory;

(vi) To advise Government as to the arrangements which should be made for publication of approved textbooks and suggest other matters connected with the foregoing terms or germane thereto.

The Committee was empowered to appoint sub-committees and to co-opt suitable men and women on them.

From the controversial nature of the terms of reference and the personnel of the Committee, I realised at once that the problem facing me in producing a satisfactory and unanimous report was formidable. I had no illusions about the success of this Committee's work. Shrimati Lilavati Munshi, whose mind was already made up on the issue of nationalisation of textbooks, was a power to reckon with. She could easily win over the majority of members to her side. On the other hand, there were two official members—Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji, Inspectress of Girls' Schools and Miss Sulabha Panandikar, Professor of Education, S. T. College, Bombay, who were equally uncompromising and determined to oppose Government in respect of nationalisation of textbooks. It seemed as though the Committee was engaged in witnessing a fight between Smt. Munshi and Miss Rustomji. To control these two strong and irrepressible women would have been a herculean task

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for any body under the sun; but for a soft man like me it was much more difficult. This Committee seemed to be more or less a women's affair. In addition to these three women, who had more or less fixed views on the subject, there was Smt. Hansa Mehta to reckon with. As Parliamentary Secretary, all the proposals of the Committee were put up to her and were practically decided by her for the Government. She had no sympathy with Smt. Lilavati Munshi's idea of nationalisation. Smt. Munshi was not merely strong and determined; occasionally, she could be suave, diplomatic and even sweet. I had known Shri K. M. Munshi and Smt. Lilavati Munshi for some years. One day, during the wet season of 1939, in Poona, the Munshis invited me to tea with the main object of canvassing my support for the idea of nationalisation. She tactfully broached the subject. I asked her what exactly were her views on the question. She replied that her view was that the same textbooks should be used throughout each linguistic region of the province and that they should be produced and distributed by Government. I asked her up to what stage she intended nationalisation. She said, "Right up to the B. A. or B. Sc. stage." I immediately realised that it was an impossible proposition. I replied, "That is a fantastic idea. It is a remedy worse than the disease. It is true that some booksellers and publishers are pushing their trade by dishonest methods. We can consider the question of nationalising up to Std. IV in the first instance, then gradually up to Std. VII. It would not be desirable to compel the use of only one set of textbooks in Secondary schools and colleges. Ideas of good textbooks develop if more and more people apply their mind to the problem of producing them." There was, therefore, a big gulf separating my position from hers. In fact, the other official members, like Miss Rustomji and Panandikar would not like to have only one set of text books even at the Primary stage. Thus it was difficulty for me to placate either the non-official group under the leadership of Smt. Munshi or the official group. So I left the Munshis' bungalow that evening with a feeling that the Committee would have a rough time. Smt. Lilavati Munshi also realised that she could not win me over to her point of view. If the Committee were left free to function in the normal way, it was doubtful whether the majority view would have satisfied Smt. Munshi. This view would perhaps have been in favour of restricting the number of textbooks produced in each subject to one set in Primary schools and to about three or four sets in the Secondary schools.

The first meeting of the Committee was held on 9th August, 1939, when a questionnaire was framed and issued to the public. There was a feeling of uneasiness noticeable in Smt. Lilavati Munshi all the time.

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As Chairman, I tried to accommodate the views of all members as far as possible and impressed on them the need for producing a unanimous report if it was to be of any use at all. Smt. Munshi, however, wanted explanation on a point arising out of the terms of reference given to us. I gave the meaning of the terms of reference as I understood it, which was agreed to by the official group but not by the non-official group. Then I told Smt. Munshi that I would refer the point to Government and ask for their authoritative meaning of the phrase. This was agreed to by all and we concluded the first meeting in a spirit of 'give and take.'

In accordance with my promise to the Committee, I referred Smt. Munshi's point to Government for orders, which I received in about two months. Government agreed with me in the view I had taken of the doubtful point. I communicated the orders to all the members of the Committee. Smt. Munshi was furious. She thought she would force her view on Government. She, therefore, quietly approached the non-official members and told them that Government's orders were an insult to them and, therefore, they should resign *en bloc* from the Committee. There were some excellent members in the non-official group—good scholars with great interest in education; but most of them were Congressmen and, where the prestige of the Congress party was involved, they were all united at least at the time! They forgot for the time being that it was the Congress Government which had given the ruling! I had very high respect for all of them. For instance, Sarvashri S. L. Karandikar, S. A. Brelvi, Editor of The *Bombay Chronicle*, Narahari D. Parikh, Shankar D. Javadekar and V. P. Limaye were all outstanding men interested in the problem and contributed a good deal to the discussion of the subject. Sri Naraharibhai Parikh was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and was at the time in charge of Gujarat Vidya Peetha. He was a delightful person, and it was a pleasure to meet him and discuss educational problems. The next meeting of the Committee was held in the first week of December, 1939 and Smt. Munshi's group expressed a desire to resign their membership. In fact, they had all signed a letter of protest to Government on that trifling point about the interpretation of the terms of reference. This was an attempt to blackmail Government. So I promised them that I would pass on their letter of resignation to Government and await their orders. This I did in due course. Meantime, the second world war had broken out and the Government resigned without passing orders on Smt. Munshi's letter of resignation. In my life, I have shouldered many responsibilities and have enjoyed myself in carrying out those duties and responsibilities. But I would

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not like to be again Chairman of a Committee consisting of two groups more or less equally balanced and neither of them wanting to understand the point of view of the other group. The Chairman's lot was far from an enviable one.

The Government constituted for the duration of the War popularly known as Section 93 Regime, accepted the resignation of the Smt. Munshi group. They were—

1. Mrs. Lilavati K. Munshi, M. L. A.,
2. Mr. N. G. Joshi, M. L. A.,
3. Mr. V. K. Vora,
4. Mr. Narahari D. Parikh.,
5. Mr. Narasimh Prasad K. Bhat,,
6. Mr. Shankar Dattatreya Javadekar,
7. Mr. V. P. Limaye.

After a few months, the Government appointed the following members in their places:

1. Prof. D. R. Gadgil, M. A.
2. Prof. K. R. Kanitkar, M. A., B. Sc.
3. Miss R. Reuben M. A.
4. Dr. G. S. Khair, M. A., Ph. D.

The number of members of the Committee was thus reduced by three, so that it now consisted of eight official members and eight non-official members. It was not the number that mattered; but now it was a more homogeneous body, and would be expected to examine the question of textbooks purely from the educational point of view. It was a great relief to me.

First we had to decide upon the principle in accordance with which textbooks should be judged. Broadly speaking, school textbooks should fulfil definite requisites in three fields—pedagogical, technical and economic. We laid down all these requirements for the guidance of the various sub-committees that were formed to scrutinise the existing books in use in schools. While the sub-committees were busy with the scrutiny of textbooks in the various subjects in Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada and Urdu, the Committee had to examine the main problem of putting an embargo on the textbooks published by non-Governmental agencies. Even the new committee formed after the exit of Smt. Munshi was divided on this point.

Historically, the Bombay Government had enjoyed monopoly in the field of school books till about 1925 as far as Primary education was concerned. In Secondary schools the books used were mainly in English and were generally those published by British Publishing houses like Macmillans and Longmans. Lists of suitable books for schools were

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published by the Department for the first time in the year 1901, and since then the use of unsanctioned books had been discontinued. But books once written or sanctioned by the Department tended to remain in the field for several years even though they had become out of date. For instance, Bhandarkar's Sanskrit series and Gokhale's Arithmetic were in use throughout the Bombay Presidency for more than 50 years. By 1930, many other authors came into the field for writing both Secondary and Primary School books. There was a Provincial School book committee for sanctioning text-books in English and 'Vernacular' School-book committee to consider those written in the Indian languages. The Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 delegated the the power of selecting and prescribing school books from the sanctioned list to the District and Municipal School Boards. This would have been all right had the Departmental list of sanctioned books in Marathi, Gujarati, etc. been prepared with great care. Actually, many inferior books were included in the list and the final choice of selecting the textbooks was left to the School Boards. This naturally led in some places to corruption in the selection of books. As far as Secondary schools were concerned, the choice of textbooks was always made by the heads of schools and there were no serious complaints against the school selection although favouritism mainly based on consideration of the author's caste, might be occasionally attributed to them. The root cause of the trouble was that the Department was not strict enough to put only the best textbooks on the sanctioned list, whether for Primary or Secondary schools. The number of books submitted to the school-book committee was increasing year by year.

Many booksellers and teachers found a quick way of becoming rich, although the methods employed in getting their books prescribed were open to grave objection. The members of school-book committees were not at the time paid any remuneration for the work of reviewing the books sent to them. If a reasonable fee had been paid for each book received by the reviewer, it might make him take more pains over the work. Most of the reviewers were Government officers who read the books hurriedly or entrusted the work to some of their assistants. Thus, the first reform required was to make the review of the books efficient and impartial. This necessitated payment of a fee for each book reviewed and also appointment of real experts as reviewers. To meet the expenditure on the review of books, it was open to the Department to prescribe a reasonable fee for each book submitted to the Department. Once the list of approved books was limited to outstanding books in each subject, it really did not matter which books were pres-

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cribed in Secondary schools by the Headmaster concerned. In the case of Primary schools, however, there were complaints that the School Boards did not use their power of selecting books from the approved lists with circumspection. Nor did the School Boards consult their Administrative officers or teachers on the question. Thus, serious irregularities in the exercise of their powers by the Boards were noticed. Some Boards had even prescribed books which were not on the sanctioned list. A curious instance came to our notice. One Board had prescribed a book which did not exist at all. It appeared that the Board concerned took a decision to prescribe a book which was still to be written, in the hope that the book would be completed and printed and sanctioned by the Education Department in time. Actually the book was not published at all, but remained as a prescribed textbook in the area of the Board. This naturally caused consternation and showed how irresponsible some School Boards would be. There was another evil which had to be removed. The School Boards were inclined to patronise a large number of authors and publishers by prescribing some supplementary Readers even in a subject like Geography, Grammar, Nature Study and Science. There were frequent changes of textbooks, and here too the motive was to patronise other books which were subsequently included in the sanctioned list. Communalism and corruption played an important part in the book trade and we had to devise methods of curbing them.

The most important point to be decided by the Committee was whether Government should revert to the old position under which they had the sole monopoly, at least as far as Primary schools were concerned. Public opinion was sharply divided on the question of uniformity of textbooks. Even in the Congress Party itself, there was a sharp difference of opinion on the issue. Broadly speaking, authors of books (not necessarily of textbooks), educationists and generally persons brought up in the tradition of Great Britain were opposed to having one set of textbooks only. On the other hand, persons who were mainly interested in educational administration saw the abuse of powers vested in the prescribing authorities and were anxious to have only one set of good books produced by Government, and sold as cheaply as possible to the pupils. Those who were against Government monopoly argued that uniformity would seriously mar individuality, progressive education, experimentation and free thinking. I remember Dr. R. R. Diwakar, a veteran Congressman of Karnatak, who sent a reply to the questionnaire, arguing that uniformity would lead to regimentation of thought. It was the spur of competition that kept the authors and publishers constantly striving to produce books

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whose presentation of the subject-matter, general appearance and price would enable them to replace books already in the market. Again, more than one set of textbooks on the same subject were necessary to suit different environments and different teachers. Uniformity would lead to over-centralisation, which was undesirable from the standpoint of democratic development. If one set of textbooks were allowed in schools, Government would doubtless provide them, but there was fear of its using education as an agency for propaganda. Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, the veteran educationist of Maharashtra, who gave evidence before us, showed us some books produced by the Italian Government almost deifying Sr. Mussolini. Children had a right to use good books, beautifully printed and illustrated. With Government's monopoly the quality of books would suffer, as Government would be interested in mass production. The recent improvement in the quality of some books was entirely due to private enterprise.

On the other hand, those who were in favour of uniformity of textbooks, i.e. one set of textbooks only, argued that, under the present system of unhealthy competition among different books on the same subject, the book that was most widely canvassed got the departmental sanction and commanded the largest sale. The Textbook Committee members and the prescribing authorities were often influenced by personal and extraneous, rather than purely educational, considerations. This resulted in jobbery, corruption and favouritism. The most suitable books were often left out and inferior ones were prescribed. To put an end to this state of affairs, Government should prescribe one set of textbooks which was the best of the lot. Under the system of 'benevolent' State monopoly, it should be possible to ensure both quality and cheapness by avoiding the profits of 'middlemen'. In actual practice, now one author writes the book, but a person with influence is associated with it as 'junior author', openly or on the sly, so that the author's royalties are straightaway reduced to half of what were due to him. Often, it is a mediocre author who succeeds under the system of free competition by reason of his influence with the authorities. With uniformity of textbooks, the interests of good authors would be effectively secured. A deserving author would be able to get what is due to him. Uniformity of textbooks is also desirable from the point of view of maintaining the same standard of education in the province. Under this system, uniformity of methods of teaching would be achieved. If textbooks go on changing from place to place, from year to year, both the pupils and the teachers would be inconvenienced.

These were, broadly, the views placed before the Committee by

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the two sides. It is indeed a difficult problem, and the difficulty arises mainly from the unreliability of the judgment both of reviewers of books and of the prescribing authorities. It is easy to say that only the best books should be chosen or got written and prescribed for use under Government monopoly. If the best book, say in Geography is to be selected, what are the standards by which a particular book could be adjudged as the best of the lot? There may be an honest difference of opinion between reviewers. If Government ask some scholars to write a book in a particular subject, there is no guarantee at all that it would be the most suitable book. It may be accurate in information or even in treatment of the subject-matter, and yet be far from stimulating. The best Professors in the subject may not know how to teach the subject to young children. Moreover, a person who writes a book for his bread and butter, is more likely to produce an outstanding book than those who are hired for the purpose, with or without an honorarium. In trying to control possible corruption in the trade, we may have a remedy worse than the disease and end by stifling all creative talent. The Committee was, therefore, on the whole strongly opposed to any scheme that might eventually restrict the freedom of authors and publishers in producing books. If under the system of Government, one set of textbooks was desired to prevent unhealthy competition, there was also the possibility of bringing pressure to bear upon Government in selecting scholars in various subjects for writing the textbooks. All things considered, the Committee finally recommended that, as far as Primary school textbooks were concerned, the number of books on the sanctioned list at any time in each subject should be limited to 10 in Marathi and 4 in the other languages. Of course, there was a minute of dissent to this view by one member. We also recommended that the Divisional School-Book Committee for each language should appoint sub-committees of *impartial experts* in each subject (ordinarily consisting of three persons) and that the reviewers of books should be adequately remunerated in proportion to their work. In 1938, the Seventh International Conference on Public Education held at Geneva recommended *inter alia* that the number of textbooks approved by the official authority should be *limited* in each branch and class. Our recommendation was, therefore, in consonance with the view of the International Conference on Public Education. The main object in imposing such a limit onthe number of textbooks is to prevent the market from being swamped with books of the same type. As far as possible, care should be taken to see that there is some originality in treatment or approach in the

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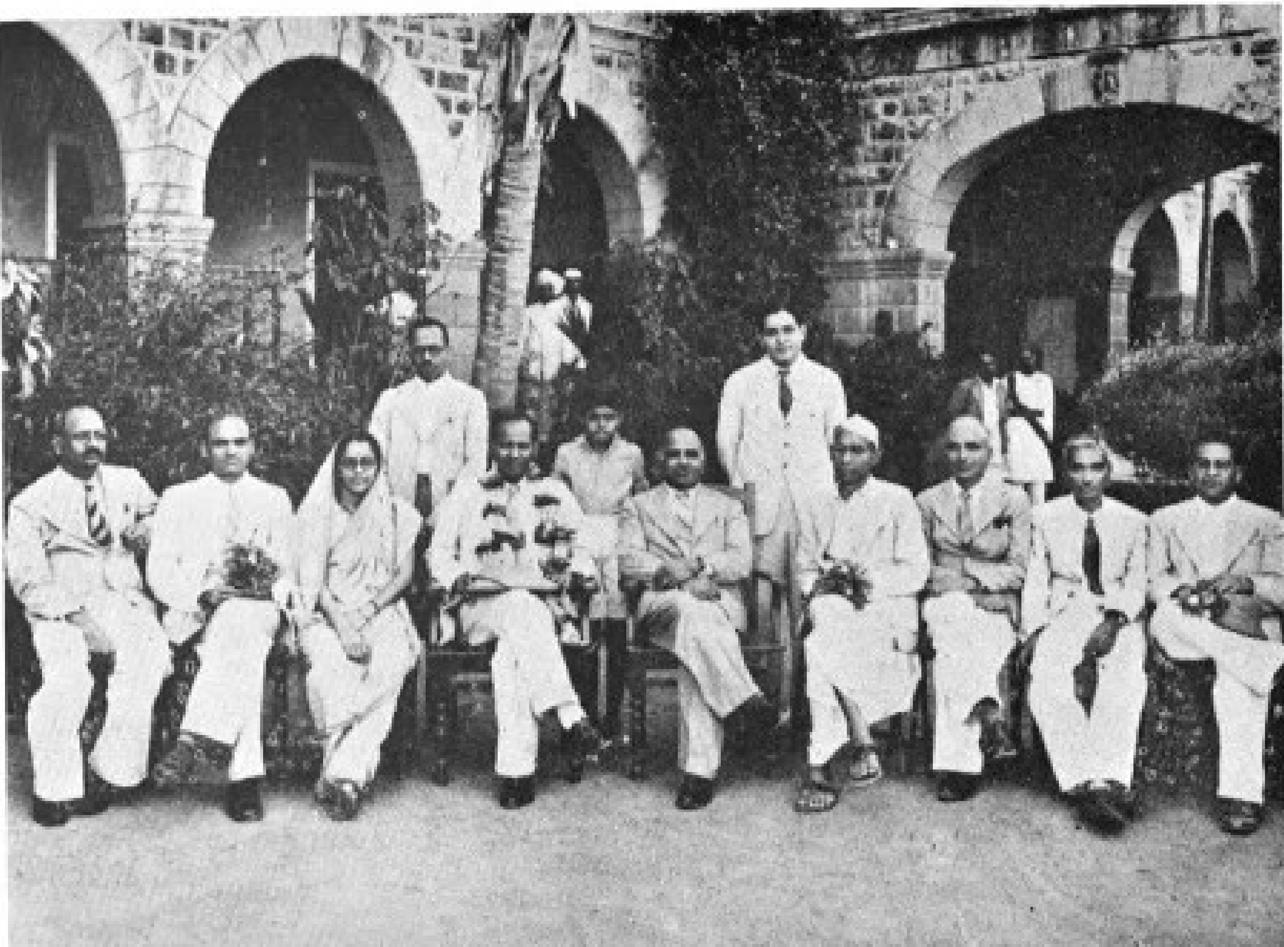

Visit to Ahmednagar District Local Board

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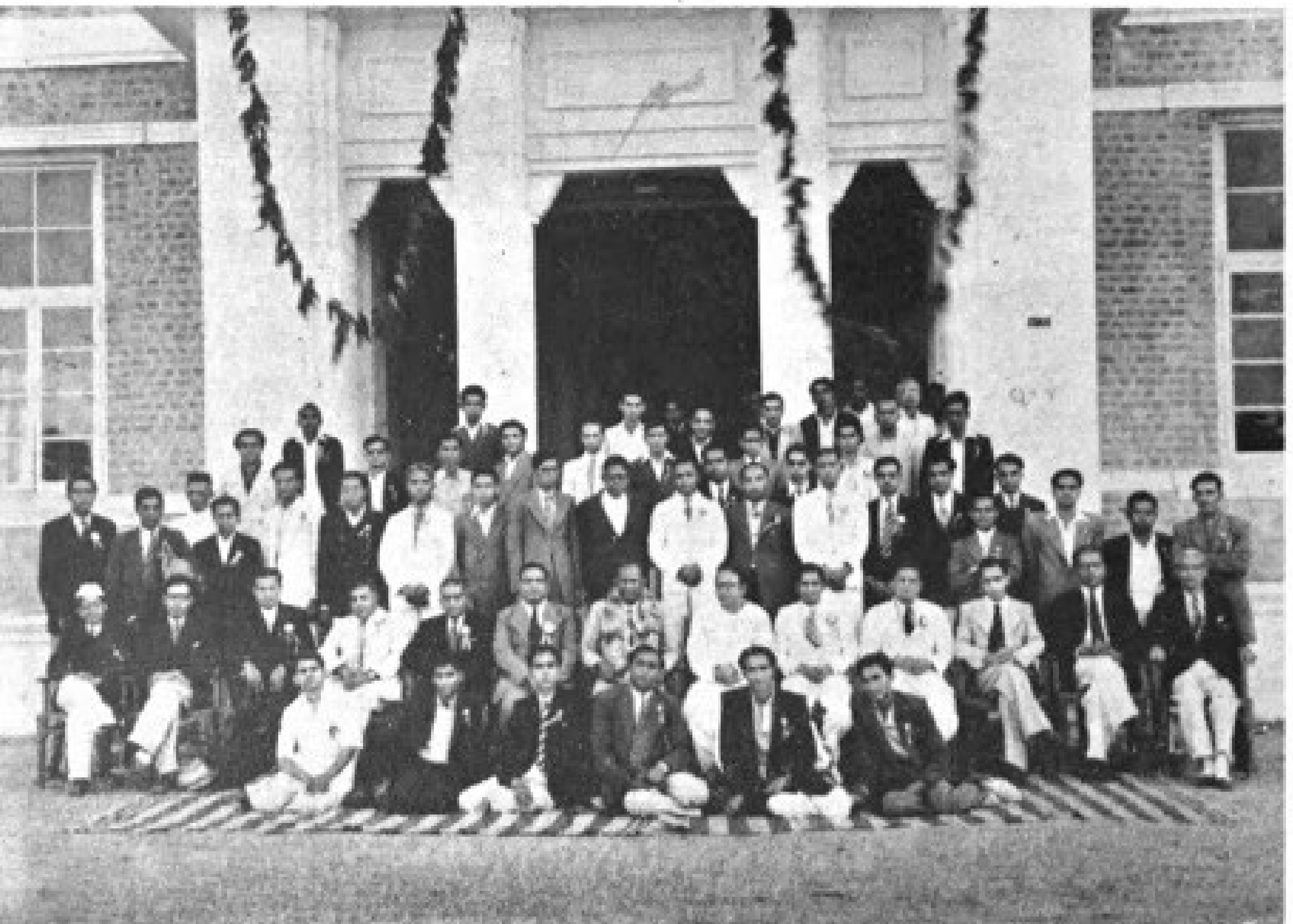

Visit to Government College, Visnagar, Gujarat, 1951

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books maintained on the sanctioned lists. The main reason for the poor standard of some of the books now prescribed is that the books are not properly or impartially assessed.

The Committee had technical experts of the Government Printing Press, Bombay, to advise on the question of the cost of production. We had to devise ways and means by which the best textbooks could be prepared and published at a reasonably low cost so that all children might have well-printed and well-illustrated books. The Committee noted from the material supplied by the Government Printing Press that the cost of a book would not appreciably decrease, beyond the limit of 25,000 copies in the case of well-illustrated books. If 25,000 copies of a book can be sold, the publisher will be able to price the book reasonably low. The cost of paper, printing, etc. varies from time to time; but the royalties of authors and the charges of booksellers and publishers do not similarly fluctuate. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the calculation about the reasonableness of the price of a book should proceed on the assumption that these three charges (i.e. authors', sellers' and publishers') do not exceed 40% of the sale price of the book. Usually, authors expect a royalty of 15%, booksellers want a commission of 15% and the publishers require establishment charges of 15% plus a profit of at least 10%. This works out to about 55% as against 40% recommended by us for the three charges.

Anyway, as Chairman of a public committee appointed by Government to examine a ticklish problem, I acquired valuable experience not only of the problem itself, but also of handling a committee. The problem of textbooks, however, still remains unsolved in our country.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN :

section 93 regime

In the event of the failure of the constitutional machinery at any time, when the Government of a province could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the 1935 Constitution, the Governor, under Section 93, could by Proclamation assume to himself all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by a Provincial Government.

When the Congress Government decided to resign after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the British Government asked the Governor of each Province to carry on the administration under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, with the help of a few Advisors selected from the ranks of the I. C. S. officers. We were so excited with the war news and Hitler's triumphs in the initial stage that most of us did not bother about what was happening at home. To be frank, most Government officers were happy to some extent at the exit of the Congress Ministries in the provinces. The Congress Government treated the officers with the utmost courtesy and fairness, and yet we were weary of their administration during those two years and a half. The reason is that the Congress Government had disturbed the even tenour of our life. We had been accustomed to the bureaucratic way of life under which our subordinates must obey us and respect our views and we in our turn carried out the policy of the Government faithfully and as efficiently as we could. Things were different with the Congress Government at first. It was all a mix-up. Quite often, the Minister called the Head of the Department along with several of his subordinates for a discussion, and the subordinates sometimes aired views directly contrary to those of the Head and other senior officers. The practice of a subordinate officer approaching Government through an M. L. A. or other leader for redress of his grievances, was steadily increasing. Instead of reprimanding the complaining officer,

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often Government forthwith asked for the remarks of the Head of the Department and sometimes took action contrary to his recommendations.

Mr. Grieve was about to retire shortly and did not worry about what was happening. The rest of the senior officers in the Education Department were greatly concerned with the increasing indiscipline so unwittingly encouraged by Government, for the Congress Ministers although well-meaning and fair-minded, were inclined to be amateurish in sizing up the men who came to see them. There were hundreds of petitions from the Primary teachers alone directly addressed to Government, which were seriously enquired into. Then, one never knew when the Minister would ring you up and ask you to see him. The subject on which the Minister would talk to you was never communicated to you in advance. Once Shri K. M. Munshi, Home Minister, sent for me only to ask me to prepare a scheme for a Primary Training college which a friend of his was wanting to start. Mr. Moos was then officiating as D. P. I. and I was officiating as Deputy D. P. I. in charge of Primary education. Since I was looking after the Primary training institutes, Shri Munshi entrusted this work to me. Apart from this, he was more friendly with me than with Mr. Moos. After I had sent the scheme, Mr. Moos came to know of it and expressed his great annoyance at my directly dealing with a Minister. I pleaded in vain that it was just a private affair, and that I had known him for years. Such awkward situations were often created by the Congress Government in those days. Now that the war was on, I thought there would be some temporary respite from such daily worries and headaches for a few years. Presently, the bureaucratic rule started again and we could carry on the administration without any fear of trouble and misunderstanding. At that time, I was Educational Inspector, Central division, Poona and I felt I was a *nabob*, with so many officers and schools under my control. I was in a position not to allow either the D. P. I. or Government to interfere in the affairs of my division, till the return of Congress Government.

Mr. Moos returned to the office as Dy. D. P. I. on completing the work of the Moos-Paranjpe Committee on the scales of pay of Primary teachers. Mr. Grieve retired from service early in 1940 and was naturally succeeded by Mr. Moos who was the seniormost officer in the administrative branch. Mr. H. V. Hampton and other senior officers in the collegiate branch put in their claim also; but Mr. Grieve did not support them on the ground of their lack of administrative experience. The question of the Dy. D. P. I. who would eventually succeed Mr. Moos as D. P. I. was not an easy one. There were quite a

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few I. E. S. officers yet. So they decided to train Shri R. P. Patwardhan for the post, by appointing him Dy. D. P. I. In about three months, however, there was the problem of finding a suitable post for Mr. Hamill, former Principal of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, who had been deputed to the Government of India's Public Service Commission at Simla. So Prof. Patwardhan was appointed Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad and Mr. Hamill took his place as Dy. D. P. I. although Mr. Hamill was due to retire earlier than Mr. Moos. So the problem of successor to Mr. Moos remained undecided. Shri Nurullah continued as Assistant D. P. I.

Under the Section 93 regime, Mr. Moos was expected to have an easy time, as there would be no implementation of any improvement scheme or expansion of old schemes for the duration of the war. Most of his time was taken up in interpreting the new Government orders on the Primary teachers' scales of pay. In 1923, Government had sanctioned generous scales of salary for trained Primary teachers and attendance allowance for the Headmasters and first assistants. Owing to the world economic depression, their scales of pay and allowances were reduced in 1929 and further reduced in 1935. By 1939, a large number of anomalies had crept into the pay structure of Primary teachers, and the Moos-Paranjpe Committee was required to inquire into the problem. This committee had recommended that all Primary teachers should be trained in a continuous course for two years and that a common scale of Rs. 25-½-30-1-40-S G 40-1-55, should be given to them, the selection grades being restricted to 15 % of the cadre. In fact, a similar recommendation had been made by the More Committee (under the Chairmanship of Shri S. S. More, a prominent Maratha leader and M. L. A. at the time). In 1941, Government accepted the scale without the selection grades and also passed orders regarding the manner in which teachers drawing the old scales should be brought under the scheme. This naturally led to confusion and many Boards asked for clarification, which Mr. Moos was required to give, sometimes in consultation with Mr. M. R. Paranjpe. Mr. Hamill was not taken seriously and the burden of work fell heavily on the D. P. I. and the Assistant D. P. I. In June 1941, Shri Nurullah was transferred as Educational Inspector, Bombay division, and I was transferred back to my old position as Assistant D. P. I. After a year, Shri Nurullah was posted as Principal, Secondary Training College, Bombay.

The short period of about two years and a half as Educational Inspector of the Poona Division, was a very pleasant one to me. I came in contact with many officers and workers in the field of educa-

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tion in the remaining six districts of Maharashtra, and the experience gained proved valuable to me. The Inspectress of Girls' schools here again was Miss H. V. Twells, who had been my colleague in the Bombay division. Once we were camping in Ahmednagar. On tour, she used to take her butler and a cook in addition to a peon. I also used to take a cook and a peon, as I had only vegetarian food. One evening we had a common dinner together in the Inspection bungalow, sharing each other's food. Owing to her long stay in India, she had developed a taste for spiced vegetables and rice. After dinner we talked about our vocation. I asked her, "Do you think our inspection of schools does any real good to them? Apart from the inspection of their accounts and registers, we go from class to class, we watch the lessons in the class-rooms, we make suggestions for improvement in the teachers' work and occasionally give lessons. Do you think it makes any permanent impression on the teachers?" She replied, "It is very doubtful. In our presence, they pretend to appreciate the methods suggested by us, but as soon as our back is turned, they revert to their old methods. Teachers are, as a rule, a very conservative lot and hardly give any thought to these improvements in their profession or to any new experiments." Miss Twells was a very efficient Inspectress of Secondary schools for girls, but she was also required to visit Primary schools for girls. Her Marathi was not up to the mark. In the British days, the mere presence of European officers was enough for Primary schools. Miss Twells, however, said she often gave lessons in Arithmetic, Science and Geography in Primary schools. I asked her whether she would let me watch her lessons in Marathi. She promptly said, "No. If you came to watch my lessons in Marathi, I would feel tongue-tied. My Marathi is just a few words." I was not able to speak good Marathi either. And yet, we were posted in the heart of Maharashtra to look after the education of boys and girls which was mostly in Marathi!

The Training college for Women at Poona, occupied a special position in the Department. Its Principal had, in the past, been a European officer, although the training was given in Marathi. The post of Principal was in B.E.S. Class I. Of course, the early European officers learnt Marathi or any other Indian language very well. During the period I was Educational Inspector, Miss M. J. Wadia was Principal of this college. It would be very difficult to find a more conscientious and devoted officer than Miss Wadia. She was a strict disciplinarian and her students—even the young girls in the Practising school,—carried the hall-mark of orderliness, good behaviour, neat dress and smartness. She was not only good in Marathi but also parti-

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cular about the proper pronunciation and intonation. Once she invited me to do the prize-giving in the Practising school and was rightly indignant when she heard my speech in Marathi, for she would never tolerate bad grammar or bad pronunciation. I have experinced great difficulty in pronouncing some Marathi consonants correctly and would, therefore, avoid, as far as possible, making public speeches in Marathi.

Another impressive personality in Poona, at the time, was Mrs. Zubeida Syed, Principal of the Urdu Training College. She was a go-ahead person with great ability and was very keen on maintaining a high standard both in the Training College and its Practising school. She was a favourite with all the officers in the Department including the D. P. I., for she was a very able woman of strong character. The trouble with the Urdu schools for girls was that whenever men went into the classrooms, the teachers would immediately put on their veils. I am told that they are really particular about not being seen by Moslems and would not much mind a non-Moslem seeing them. A Punjabi woman who was employed by the Department as teacher in a Government Urdu Girls' High School was in trouble and my predecessor had terminated her services. She was in purdah. When I told her that nothing could be done to re-employ her against the orders of my predecessor, she lifted her veil as though she hoped me to change my mind after this. It did not work.

Before resigning, the Congress Government had taken several progressive measures to improve Primary education in the province. There were border disputes between one regional area and another. In the border areas between Gujarat and Maharashtra, and between Maharashtra and Karnatak, there was no provision for the teaching of two languages, and so one language dominated at the cost of the other. For instance, Sholapur city and taluka had a large population of Kannada-speaking people and yet there were no Kannada schools at all in these areas. So was the case in the border areas between Gujarati-speaking and Marathi-speaking areas. Shri B. G. Kher had announced in the Legislative Assembly that the policy of Government was to start a Primary school in any language in any area provided there were at least 40 pupils. This was a good measure, as it withdrew the educational problem from the political controversy. As a result of this policy, the School Boards started several Primary schools in the border areas to meet the requirements of the linguistic minorities.

Another important measure the Congress Government adopted at that time was the establishment of a Primary school building committee for each district, for the construction of buildings for Primary

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schools. The Divisional Educational Inspector was the Chairman and the Deputy Educational Inspector of the District was its Secretary. It was a big committee, consisting of all the members of the Provincial Legislature of the District and five or six important persons of the District including the Chairman of the School Board. The District Executive Engineer was also a member of this committee to offer technical assistance and shorten the procedure of approving the plans and estimates of the buildings. The committee was an *ad hoc* body for the purpose of construction of school buildings. After the completion of each school building, the committee had to pass it on to the School Board. The funds were made up of the grants paid by the Government and an equal amount paid by the District School Board. The Board usually collected a donation from the village concerned to the extent of one third of the cost of the building. Many villages came forward with their share of the cost and it was difficult to cope with so many demands. The bottleneck of approval of the plans and estimates was overcome by the Executive Engineer, who gave a general plan and estimates for the whole district with a limited excess allowed in some cases. As Educational Inspector of the Central division from 1939 to 1941, I was Chairman of six such building committees, and I carried out these duties with great interest and expedition. Many buildings were under construction and some were ready for occupation. The method I adopted for supervision and quick completion of the work was to appoint a small local sub-committee, with an influential member as its chairman, with powers to supervise. I promised the chairman of the sub-committee that, if the number of buildings constructed each year was adequate and the work was satisfactory, I would recommend him for a Government title like Rao Saheb or Rao Bahadur. The only condition was the satisfactory execution of the work and no adverse audit remarks. This worked well and I was pleased with myself. I got many buildings constructed on this basis in each district.

The Central division of the Education Department, comprising six nice districts of Maharashtra, was a very interesting division. The people were for the most part Marathas and, since I had maintained cordial relations with them throughout my official career, working with them and for them was a great pleasure.

The most outstanding social worker in Maharashtra at the time was Shri Bhaurao Patil, who had arranged at Satara, for the board and lodging of hundreds of poor pupils of all communities. He was running a Training college, a High School and more than 200 voluntary Primary schools. Backward and poor communities benefited from the educational opportunities provided by him. He

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was responsible for creating a new life in the countryside. As Educational Inspector, I had come in contact with him on many occasions and had a great respect for him. He was a source of inspiration to all who were interested in social work.

Now I had to leave all this exciting work and go back to my former post of Asst. D. P. I. to be in charge of Primary education (including Ba ic) for the whole province. Some interesting changes had taken place meanwhile. There was a large number of Basic schools in the province and they had to be run in the spirit in which they had been started and administered during the Congress administration. Shri L. R. Desai, Special Officer for Basic Education, had been transferred then to Ahmedabad as Educational Inspector, Northern division. He was, in addition, required to visit Basic schools and see that they functioned as well as they would have under the Congress regime. By that time, only spinning had been introduced in most of the schools. The problem arose as to what should be done with the coarse yarn spun by the children. It was so crude that nobody would buy it for any reasonable price. In consultation with the Government Industrial Department, we decided to get chair-mats made out of it in the Poona Central prison. For the departmental examinations in Primary schools, we needed thousands of such mats. Speaking from memory, we had to pay 10 to 12 annas to the Yervada prison for each chair-mat and in return we got a mat worth about 6 annas in the market! I asked the gaol authorities why the weaving should cost so much more than the actual cost of a chair-mat in the market. The answer was that the yarn was so bad that to weave it into a chair-mat entailed much more labour than yarn spun in a mill or by adult spinners. So here was a basic school product which was a dead loss to the country. How could education be self-supporting in Basic schools? Of course, we took the view that since the training of hand and eye was an important part of education, we should be prepared to pay for it. Later when the Basic schools introduced weaving too as a craft, we were able sometimes to recover from the sale of khaddar the cost of the raw material.

In the initial stage, the All India Spinners' Association purchased all the yarn and paid in cash; but later on, the Association declined to pay on the plea that it was Goverment's duty to dispose of the yarn. This was one snag during this experimental period in popularising Basic education. The second and the more serious difficulty was to obtain good teachers. We were really not in a position to try Basic education even on a limited scale; every teacher had his own ideas about it. Some of the social workers—the Acharyas—particularly in

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Maharashtra, made matters worse by advocating that the only education the children in rural areas required was to look after the cattle from morn till evening. The villagers were suspicious of such unorthodox ideas and some even thought it was a conspiracy to sabotage their children's education. I had seen some of their complaints against the social workers and the Basic school teachers. It was a poser for us. Mr. Moos suggested to the Government that the question of Basic education be referred to the Central Advisory Board of Education. The suggestion was accepted and, on a request made by the Government of Bombay, the Central Advisory Board appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Sargent to enquire into the experiment of Basic education in the Bombay province, and to offer suggestions for the future working. At that time, no one was prepared to take the responsibility of even moderately criticizing the way in which Basic education was introduced. To do so would have meant courting unpopularity. Here was an experiment in education by which the country had set so much store and which was inspired by Mahatmaji himself. The only people who could say something against it with the authority of personal experience were the officers and teachers in charge of Basic education, but who would listen to them? Of course, the parents at some places revolted. At any rate, the British people had promised to maintain the statusquo during the Section 93 regime. The Sargent committee broadly appreciated the work done by the Basic schools so far and recommended that the experiment should be continued and expanded. The controversy raised by Mr. Moos was, therefore, quashed. The truth was that the selection of areas or schools had not been made wisely. In the hurry, local opinion had not been sounded. The difficulties experienced were inevitable at that stage. Apart from the unpopularity of Basic schools with the villagers, it was clear that Basic education was by no means going to solve the financial problem which had originally inspired the scheme. The total expenditure on Basic and craft education in the Bombay province during the year 1946-47 was Rs. 3,44,571 while the income derived from the yarn spun during the year was only Rs. 4,338. The net cost being Rs. 3,40,233 for 8054 pupils, the cost per pupil was Rs. 42 as against Rs. 27 in the Local Board and Municipal Primary schools. In voluntary schools organised by private agencies, the cost of education per pupil was only Rs. 10. The question of wiping out illiteracy in the country at the earliest possible moment without additional expenditure could not, therefore, be linked up with Basic education as originally thought by the Congress leaders.

As Asst. D. P. I. I was connected with an organisation which played

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an important part at the time in examining some problems of Primary education. That was the Provincial Board of Primary education. When the Bombay Primary Education Act 1923 was amended in 1938 by the popular Ministry, this Board was created. Thus it was a statutory body, consisting of twelve members of whom six were elected by the School Boards. The remaining six were nominated by Government and of them not more than three were to be officials. The person in charge of Primary education in the office of the D. P. I. was necessarily nominated by Government and he was ordinarily required to act as Secretary to the Board. Thus, I was member-Secretary of the Board for about four years. The powers and duties of the Board were mainly to examine schemes for the organisation and expansion of Primary education and generally to advise the provincial Government on all matters connected with Primary education. Shri R. V. Parulekar and Shri J. P. Naik were among the non-official members nominated by the Government on this Board. Shri Parulekar had had long experience of education as Headmaster of Topiwalla High School, Malvan and as Secretary of the Bombay Municipal School Committee. He was then an elderly person and a seasoned educationist. One of his long-cherised objectives in life was to see that everybody in the country was educated and that we were no longer dubbed as a backward nation. He was passionately interested in compulsory education. Finance was the main stumbling-block. At that time, every *paisa* counted. There were not yet the Five-year plans under which crores of rupees could be allotted to schemes of national development. Shri Parulekar was interested in devising a modest scheme under which more children could be educated without increasing the total outlay on education.

J. P. Naik was an extremely gifted person with an infinite capacity for hard work. He had a colossal memory, a good training in Mathematics and mastery over English. He started his life as a Congress worker in Dharwar. When he was in gaol as a participant in the 1942 movement, the gaol superintendent used him as an assistant medical officer. He was quick in the uptake and mastered the required details of medical practice in a short time. In the gaol, he came to be known as 'Doctor.' When he was out, he ran a few voluntary schools, and as an organiser of private Primary schools, became interested in the history of development education in the Bombay-Karnatak area from the beginning of the British administration. Through the courtesy of the Educational Inspector, Dharwar, he had access to the old files in the office. He unearthed many facts about Primary education and worked them into articles which were at once interesting and

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instructive. For some of them, he would have got a doctorate from any university! Whatever the job, he would make a success of it. As a member of the Provincial Board of Primary education, he had plenty of opportunities for his talents. Both Parulekar and Naik were a great asset to the Provincial Board of Primary education and they worked hand in hand. Parulekar supplied ideas and Naik developed them into a thesis. The Provincial Board of Primary education hummed with life.

The problems we discussed and the schemes we prepared during these years enriched my experience in Primary education. I greatly profited from contacts with the non-official members, one of whom was Shri Dinkarrao Desai, later Minister of Education. One of the most controversial subjects was the shift system. Parulekar was the originator of the idea and had won the support of almost all members of the Board. Under this system, one batch of children had three hours' instruction in the morning and another batch three hours in the afternoon. I was strongly opposed to it. So was Shri Dinkarrao Desai. The principle underlying the scheme was to educate as many children as possible with the limited funds available. If a teacher is in charge of forty children, he will, under the scheme, be in actual charge of eighty children. So, with the same number of teachers, the number of children would be doubled. The philosophy behind the scheme was that some education is better than no education. Parulekar quoted the example of Japan and other countries. The first president of the Board was Shrimati Hansa Mehta, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, during 1937-40. She had a certain amount of sympathy for this superficially attractive scheme. My objection to it was that the teacher would not be equal to six hours of serious teaching. Besides, education implied the organic growth of the child and not mere pumping in of information in the shortest possible time. The term of office of each member on the Board was three years. When Shrimati Hansa Mehta's term was over, Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, former Minister of Education, was elected President of the Board. His approch to the problem was slightly different. He said, "After all, how can we get more children to school unless we introduce compulsion? The number of children remains the same under the present system of voluntary attendance. If so, why should we unnecessarily water down the quality of education by the introduction of the shift system? If you link up the shift system with the introduction of compulsory Primary education, I can see your point". So, when we prepared a scheme of compulsory Primary education up to standard IV within the age limits of 6-11. we suggested that the shift system be made

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compulsory for the first two years. In practice, however, most of the children who attended school in the morning session also wanted to attend school in the afternoon and it was difficult to prevent them. Hence the shift system was unpopular.

Another problem which was carefully examined by the Provincial Board of Primary education was the extent of wastage and stagnation in the field of Primary education. This was actually done by J. P. Naik. Wastage in Primary education means the premature withdrawal of children from Primary schools. Stagnation means the retention of a child in the same class for more than a year. In the Bombay province, the educational system provided for five years' elementary education in Primary school and seven years in High school. Those who could not proceed to a Secondary school where English was compulsory, could remain in upper Primary standards V to VII and eventually sit for the 'Vernacular' Final examination. The five years' elementary education comprised instruction provided in the infant class and standards 1—V. The Provincial Board recommended the abolition of the Infant class and the restriction of admission to children above five. The purposals were accepted by Government and this slightly improved the situation regarding stagnation and wastage. The most important causes of wastage are two; one is the poverty of the village people, which compels them to withdraw their children from school at a very early age and put them on a job which would earn something for the family; the second is the lack of compulsion. Unless free and compulsory education was introduced, it was idle to expect any substantial improvement. This report was one of the best produced by the Provincial Board. Meanwhile, the Board was also busy with preparing a scheme of compulsory education and studying the problem of finance. In fact, by the time the Congress returned to power, we were ready with all the schemes that might interest them.

As I belonged to the agricultural class myself, the problem of compulsory education interested me much. Unless people in villages were educated enough to realise their economic interest, it would be idle to expect prosperity in rural areas. So, I had pinned my faith on the education of the masses as the sole panacea for their miserable poverty. This was also the view of the early Liberal leaders of our country like G. K. Gokhale.

After Dr. Paranjpe, the Provincial Board of Primary Education elected Shri D. R. Gadgil, Director of Gokhale Institute of Economics and Political Science, as its President. He has built up a great institute of Economics and Politics in Poona on the model of the London School

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of Economics and is perhaps one of the best informed persons in the whole of India in the social sciences. He was associated with me on the Textbook Committee appointed by the Government, and his institute had also helped the Education Department in examining the problem of lapse into illiteracy by persons who have had their early schooling. So he was a great asset to the Board of Primary education, which continued its good work of bringing out interesting reports on problems of Primary education. The Government of Bombay had the Textbook Committee's report and other reports submitted by the the Provincial Board of Primary Education printed,but would not take any action on controversial problems, or on questions depending on funds, until the return of the popular Government.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN :

the return of the congress government

Mr. Moos was about to retire towards the end of May 1945 from his position as D. P. I. On the whole, I had maintained good relations with him, although I did not see eye to eye with him on many problems. He was a strong administrator and did not tolerate indiscipline in the Department. Moreover, he was one of the few officers who had an intimate knowledge of the working of the Primary Education Act in the Bombay province right from the beginning. He was also impartial in all administrative matters and I had great respect for him.

I had already put in another four years' service as Asst. D. P. I. and, apart from Primary education which was my main charge, I shared with Mr. Moos most of the responsibilities of the office. He generally consulted me in all matters of policy or on administrative problems of a difficult nature—not that he accepted all my views. He was himself a man of strong views on policy questions and was dead against the introduction of the shift system in Primary schools, compulsory education, Basic education and many other reforms in which the nation as a whole was interested. It was quite clear that a man of his disposition would not have been able to stand up to the wear and tear of office under the Congress Government. I was myself conservative in my outlook, but I knew what was good and necessary for our province. The differences of opinion on public affairs and particularly in education between Mr. Moos and myself were mainly due to the circumstances in which we had been brought up. He belonged to a rich Parsee family of Bombay, well-connected with business magnates as well as the British rulers in India for centuries, while I came from a poor agricultural family and was brought up in a rural environment with little connection with the rulers of our country. Whenever any problem came up, my first reaction was to see how it affected the millions and millions of our population. My efforts were naturally directed towards spreading education among the rural classes, while

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Mr. Moos was more interested in maintaining a high standard of education than in its expansion. We had, however, many common interests. He was a Cambridge man; so was I. He was interested in Science and Mathematics and so was I. On some occasions we spent hours together discussing problems in mathematics. All the same, he was quite conscious of the fact that he belonged to a superior class and I was equally clear in my mind that nobody was inferior to me. My religion and early upbringing had taught me that. Although there was a great hiatus in our mental attitudes, we had frequent social contacts. We exchanged dinners on several occasions, as I did with the European officers. Mrs. Moos was an excellent hostess and entertained me and my wife to excellent dinners on occasion. But they lived like Europeans, and we like middle-class Indians.

Now that he was relinquishing office, I was sorry. I was not quite sure who would succeed him as D. P. I. The Section 93 regime was still with us. They would very likely go by seniority, I thought. On the other hand, I knew that the Congress Government would want somebody who was well acquainted with all aspects of development and able to put all their schemes through with success. During the previous four years, I had been mostly concerned with Primary and Basic education. I was personally interested in them and had all the facts and figures at my fingers' tips. I knew that, sooner or later, I would become D. P. I. and I knew also what schemes, and in what order ofpriority, I should put through. Leaving aside the issue of Basic education on which I had my own doubts, my views and interests practically coincided with those of Shri Kher, and I was looking forward to his coming back as Chief Minister of Bombay State. With an eye on the possibility of my playing an important role on the return of the Congress to power, I had worked very hard during the four years 1941-45.

Before Mr. Moos retired, I thought I might have a holiday in Kashmir in April and May. Immediately after my sons' examinations were over, we left for Srinagar. The main reason for choosing Kashmir for a holiday was that one of my old Banaras students was a Professor of Mathematics in the Government College at Jammu. He often wrote to me to visit that enchanting State, and we had not met for a long time. He had fixed up a hotel for us in Srinagar and made arrangements for an officer to receive us at Rawalpindi. We arrived there on 12th April. The world war, unlike in the rest of India, had no visible effects on the cost of living in Kashmir. The hotel where we stayed was very nice, situated on Dal Lake and commanding a beautiful view of the lake and the snow-capped mountains. The charges were reasonable. Many visitors to Kashmir hire a house boat.

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Perhaps this arrangement is less costly. We preferred, however, to stick to the hotel and visit other places in Kashmir with Srinagar as our headquarters. Far away from Poona and Bombay, we had a very enjoyable time, moving around the lakes, rivers, parks and gardens. We saw many beauty spots, which were comparable to those in Switzerland. We climbed steep hills on ponies and our children enjoyed this more than anything else. I have been to Kashmir on several occasions afterwards, but Kashmir, like other beautiful States, never again thrills and enchants as it does the first time. Every time I visit Srinagar I make it a point to walk right up to the top of the steep Shankaracharya hill overlooking the town. That gives me an assurance that I am still physically fit!

After an exhilarating and exciting holiday in Kashmir for about two months, we left Srinagar for Lahore via the Bannihal Pass. On the return journey I wanted to see Jammu, where my student was working. It was a pleasure to see him after more than fifteen years and I was glad to learn that he was getting on well. The best reward of the teaching profession is the affection and gratitude your students have towards you for what you did for them. I had only taught for two years, and it was as refreshing as the Kashmir air to find that some students still remembered me with a certain amount of regard and affection.

Hitler's Germany had capitulated, and it was a matter of a few months before Japan would do the same. Great changes were taking place in our country. Swaraj was just round the corner. While the Congress Party was insisting on the application of the principle of self-determination, the Muslim League was demanding partition of India.

I returned to Poona to join my post as Asst. D. P. I. Orders appointing the D. P. I. and the Dy. D. P. I. consequent on the retirement of Mr. Moos had not yet been issued. Since Shri R. P. Patwardhan had already been working as Dy. D. P. I. for a year or so after the retirement of Mr. Hamill, it was fairly certain that he would be appointed D. P. I. Even so, other members of the I. E. S. were agitating to secure that post. Mr. Seal was out of the question, as he had already been tried and found wanting. The most senior officer in the Education Department at that time was Prof. G. R. Paranjpe, Principal of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay. After Mr. Moos he would have about six months' service. Yet, he put in his claim. It is natural that every officer should want to retire from Government service after holding the highest post available to him by virtue of his seniority. Whether he does any justice to the post is a different matter altogether. There were still about five I. E. S. officers and six B. E. S.

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Class I officers of the collegiate branch who were senior to me, and almost every one was aspiring to be D. P. I. in due course.

The Government of Bombay acted wisely. They appointed Prof. R. P. Patwardhan D. P. I. and Prof. K. R. Gunjikar Dy. D. P. I. Both were taken from the collegiate branch—it was in a way inevitable—as I. E. S. officers enjoyed protection from the Secretary of State for India. Prof. Gunjikar happened to be the most junior member of the I. E. S., and after him would come the turn of the B. E. S. Class I officers. It was also in consonance with the principle that the person to be appointed D. P. I., should have had a reasonable period of service as Dy. D. P. I. Under this arrangement, Prof. Patwardhan would serve as D. P. I. for about a year and a half and Prof. Gunjikar for about two years thereafter. Any other arrangement would not have been satisfactory, as there could not be Heads of Departments for a few months only. It was not politic to change the D. P. I. every six months or so. And yet there was great discontent among a few officers on the announcement of these postings. After seeing this attitude among the college Professors, I began to wonder whether service rights and seniority should count far more than the interests of the taxpayer. It was fatuous to appoint as the Head of a Department a person without any experience of administration. In the case of the Education Department, a college Professor would not have the faintest idea of the nature of the problems in Primary and Secondary education, and yet most of them expected to be head of the Department one after another. Under the British system, by and large, such appointments were made on the basis of merit-cum-seniority. Under a popular Government, every officer had access to the Minister of Education and I feared that communal considerations might come into play. One thing I hated more than anything was to go to the Minister hat in hand. What guarantee was there that, even after the retirement of the last I. E. S. officer, I should succeed to the post which had been held as a bait before us all these years by the British officers? The B. E. S. Class I officers in the collegiate branch would also rebel against their supersession. The whole business was distasteful to me. So, I asked Mr. Moos on the eve of his retirement whether he would be good enough to post me as Principal of a college, so I need not bother any more about pure administration. I said, "If the college officers are agitated over the appointment of the D. P. I. on the ground of seniority, I shall never have a chance; for one officer above me is considerably younger than myself. I know Shri Kher is interested in many schemes of development and would like to have one of us in the administrative branch as D. P. I., but even he may

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not be able to withstand pressure from interested parties, I don't care to involve myself in this affair. I was originally designed to be a teacher and would gladly work as Principal and Professor of Mathematics." Mr. Moos tried to be as pleasant as possible in the circumstances and said, "Oh, don't bother about it. You will soon be at the top in the Department. No Government can set aside the claims of a man with your record of service." This was no solace to me; for Shri Moos belonged to a vanishing age and, even if he had left a note in my favour, it would not be of any consequence as far as the Congress Government was concerned.

Now the trio which managed the Education Department were Shri R. P. Patwardhan, D. P. I., Shri K. R. Gunjikar, Dy. D. P. I. and myself as Assistant D. P. I. Shri Patwardhan was a very conscientious officer who would not pass orders on any file until he was thoroughly satisfied with the correctness of the orders. Since he had no personal experience of district or divisional administration, he found it extremdy difficult to dispose of cases quickly, but used to discuss the papers with the superintendent concerned and occasionally with me; but the final orders were his own even if it meant delay. He was not the man to mind hard work both at home and in the office. Infact, a more serious and sincere officer would be hard to find.

Shri Gunjikar was a brilliant scholar in both Physics and Mathematics. He had obtained a first in the Cambridge Tripos examinations in both. Mr. Moos, who had also taken a Cambridge Tripos in Physics, had naturally a high opinion of him. Shri Gunjikar was not interested in routine cases. He had his ideas though, whether others agreed with him or not was a different question. One thing that made Gunjikar popular was his jovial nature and quickness in repartee. He would argue his points vigorously and never yield. Happily for me, there were many ties between us. We were both educated in the same college at Cambridge, we had both started our careers in the Banaras Hindu University, and we were both interested in Mathematics. In a way, he was also a Kannada man, for his father had been a teacher at Hubli and he had a number of relations at Belgaum. His adventures in sports, his dealings with superior officers and his general behaviour with others were all quite interesting, even amusing, and I enjoyed hearing of them. He has never in his life taken anything lying down. He has a great sense of humour and the gift of narrating interesting incidents without himself laughing once.

Since I had sold my car during the war owing to scarcity of petrol, I used to come to office in either Gunjikar's or Patwardhan's car.

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We were all friends more or less, and did not behave as if we were conscious of our different ranks in office. On several occasions, particularly while travelling together, I often cracked jokes at Patwardhan's cost and he took them with a good grace.

Shri R. P. Patwardhan was determined to make a success of his new office despite the great handicaps from which he suffered. I reckon he worked on his files for more than fifteen hours a day, and he never passed orders on any case unless he was perfectly satisfied that he had understood it. In other words, he never trusted anybody—neither the clerk who dealt with it nor the superintendent or officer who had noted on it. This naturally resulted in accumulation of files at home as well in the office. Shri Gunjikar, on the other hand, trusted his subordinates and rolled back the files as quickly as they came. He did not examine each case with meticulous care, depending largely on his common sense. His approach to any problem of administration was instinctively correct, and, whenever he was held up, he had a discussion with his subordinate officers and passed orders which were more or less correct. He had, of course, his own views on every educational problem and would not budge an inch from his position, no matter what happened. It was great fun dealing with Gunjikar. Once he told me of an incident he had with the boss. A case was put up to him in which he had to approve a huge statement of figures dealing with expenditure on scholarships. These statistical returns are generally prepared by the office with great care and the officer concerned does not need to bother about them. The file was marked for both the Dy. D. P. I. and the D. P. I. Gunjikar put down his initials and passed it on, immediately. Shri Patwardhan took a few days over it, carefully verifying the correctness of the additions and subtractions. He found one mistake. It appears Shri Patwardhan did not like the carefree manner in which Shri Gunjikar wanted to dispose of his cases. While he was himself toiling and moiling, here was an officer who was to succeed him in a year or so and yet was so casual about his work. Here then was a chance to pull him up for negligence. So Gunjikar was sent for to the boss's chamber. Patwardhan began, "Look here, Gunjikar, here is an important case of statistical returns which has to go to Government. It contains a mistake. You have not checked the figures." Gunjikar replied calmly, "This is a routine clerical case. The clerks are supposed to do these mechanical operations." To this Patwardhan said, "Yes, but some officer has to check up the statements which are meant for Government. Since you did not verify them, I have had to do it. Actually, I wasted more than two hours over it." Gunjikar calmly replied, "Oh, you did that, did

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you? Look here, you are paid Rs. 2,500 p.m. and I am paid Rs. 1600. Surely Government does not employ such high-salaried officers to check up these silly arithmetical calculations. We are supposed to do much more important work than this." I have known Gunjikar for nearly forty years. He will argue and argue indefinitely. It is impossible to convince him that he is wrong in any case under the sun. But here he was, of course, right. Poor Patwardhan had to grin and bear it. Gunjikar told me of this incident with some measure of self-satisfaction, for scoring over Patwardhan. He did not realise, however, that the boss usually has the last word. Anyway, Patwardhan was now convinced that it was impossible to make Gunjikar work the way he wanted.

Meantime, the war was over. The provincial elections took place and the Congress swept the polls. Shri B. G. Kher again became Chief Minister of Bombay State and formed his Government. Since Education was a subject after his heart, he became Minister of Education as well. The old veterans, like Shri A. B. Latthe and Shri K. M. Munshi had no place in the State Government this time. The Karnatak area was represented by Shri M. P. Patil, Minister for Agriculture and Cooperation. Shri Morarjibhai Desai was in charge of the Revenue and Home Departments. He was, however, second in command and the Chief Minister relied on him a great deal. Six years had elapsed since the last Kher Ministry had resigned. All these Ministers had suffered two or three years' imprisonment in the interval. By that time, the Congress leaders had learned to have no fear of jail. They were class I prisoners and could do a lot of reading, thinking and writing in jail without any great physical hardships. Even so, some people were not anxious to court imprisonment. One of them was Shri A. B. Latthe. This, of course, lowered his prestige among Congressmen. So, although Shri Latthe was returned to the Provincial Legislative Assembly on a Congress ticket, the party would not trust him to be a Minister again. Moreover, he was intimately connected with the Kolhapur Maharaja. Dr. Gilder and Shri Dinkarrao Desai—a staunch Congressman from Broach—were other important Ministers. As etiquette demanded, I called on them all when the Government assembled in Poona during the wet season of 1946.

Meantime, Shri Patwardhan had proceeded on leave to rest from his exacting and thankless labours. So Gunjikar became D. P. I. on a temporary basis, and I, Dy. D. P. I. for the leave period. The Congress Government had returned to office with much more self-confidence and greater determination to achieve some tangible results. Now they were sure, for one thing, to be in office for at least five years. Past

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experience had made them wiser. Shri Kher at least seemed to have realised that it was no good consulting too many men or appointing too many committees on our development schemes. During 1937-39, there were so many advisers that he was bewildered with the volume of advice he received on any subject. Now he thought he must come to brass tacks, and that as quickly as possible. He had heard of the failure of the Primary Education Amendment Act of 1938, passed in his previous regime. Above all, he realised the supreme importance of having strong officers at headquarters, who could be relied upon to carry out development schemes with imagination. The college Professors or Principals were not the persons to deliver the goods. Perhaps he had heard that Shri R. P. Patwardhan and Shri Gunjikar were not hitting it off too well. Anyway, he and Shri Bhansali, Secretary to Government in the Education Department, suddenly paid a visit to the office of the D. P. I. in Poona. Shri Gunjikar was D. P. I. and I was Dy. D. P. I. It so happened that I was in his room discussing some case when the peon announced the arrival of Shri Kher and Shri Bhansali. I said to Gunjikar he should show them round. I thought to myself I should not be with the D. P. I. when the Minister and his Secretary wanted to discuss matters with him. I also thought they might have come to test whether Gunjikar was sufficiently acquainted with the Department and its work. In either case, it would have been wrong for me to remain. So I withdrew to my room next door. Gunjikar had by then been in the office for nearly a year and knew the different sections of the office and where they were working. He could have easily taken them round, in his own interest. Anybody would have been delighted to do so. But such was his honesty that he told them frankly Shri Pavate knew the office better and he would call him. So we both took them round the various branches of the office and I explained what each branch was doing, who its head was and so on. After about fifteen minutes of this tour, they left. I was honestly shocked at Shri Gunjikar's simplicity and innocence.

We returned to the D. P. I.'s office room to talk over the implication of the visit. I frankly told Gunjikar it had not been in his interest to send for me to show them round. I said, "This might mean that, even after one year, you do not know who is who in the office. All you could have done was to take them round and introduce the Head of each section to them. This dependence on me might be construed against you. You should not have done it." Shri Gunjikar said in reply, "Well, I did not know what they wanted. Suppose they wanted some information about this section or that, I could not have given it. I was right in calling you." It was no good arguing this or any other

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question with Gunjikar. So we dropped the subject. It was quite clear to me, however, that this visit of the Minister and his Secretary was just to find out how he got on and whether they could rely on him to carry out the new projects in education. If my surmise was correct, there was no doubt that they had carried away a poor impression of Shri Gunjikar. Shri Bhansali was a personal friend of Shri Gunjikar's. They had been contemporaries at Cambridge and, even after Bhansali entered the I. C. S., there had been frequent social and intellectual contacts between them. When Shri Gunjikar next met Bhansali, he naturally enquired what was the provocation for their sudden descent upon his office. Shri Bhansali smiled and confidentially told him that he would have to go as Principal of some college. Far from being upset, Shri Gunjikar asked him who was going to succeed Shri Patwardhan. Shri Bhansali hinted that I might. All this was faithfully reported to me by Shri Gunjikar and I was very sad to hear about his reversion. I thought to myself, "If Patwardhan could be D. P. I. for a short period by virtue of being a member of the I. E. S., so could Gunjikar." I thought Government was being unfair to Gunjikar. Soon afterwards Shri Gunjikar was appointed Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad and I took his place as Dy. D. P. I. on a substantive basis.

Shri R. P. Patwardhan returned from his leave towards the end of July, 1946 and I took over as Dy. D. P. I. on 19th July, 1946. I had held that post on several occasions in the past, on a temporary basis. Now I was Dy. D. P. I. without any fear of college Professors pushing me out on the basis of seniority. This also meant that I would in the normal course succeed Shri Patwardhan. He had about six months' service left to him and he might proceed on leave preparatory to retirement two or three months earlier. The Chief Minister was anxious to strengthen the office of the D. P. I. so that red-tapism might be reduced to the minimum. So Shri Syed Nurullah was transferred to the office as an additional Dy. D. P. I. towards the end of October, 1946. Shri L. R. Desai, Educational Inspector and Special Officer for Basic Education, was appointed Asst. D. P. I. Thus the stage was set for a vigorous policy in education.

Shri Kher called a small meeting, consisting of the D. P. I., myself and some two or three other officers of the Department, at Poona. Apart from Basic education which had to be made a success, we discussed broadly the basis on which we should proceed in implementing our schemes. I noticed that Shri Kher was more resolute and determined than in the past. He had no longer any use for wild-cat schemes or layman advice. It appeared to me—what eventually turned out to be true—that he realised that time is short and he could

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not afford any more to follow the will-o'-wisp. He was determined to achieve substantial results in the expansion and improvement of education at all stages, from the pre-Primary to the University, during his tenure of office. We were all impressed with his seriousness of purpose and told him what schemes could be implemented straightaway. We were discussing our future plan of development. Shri Patwardhan was not much interested in the question of compulsory Primary education. I, on the other hand, set great store by compulsion at the time. So I said, "We are well set for introducing compulsory education. Unless we educate the masses, it is idle to talk about any improvement in the economic and social life of the country. In fact, we have during the last five years prepared a detailed plan for implementing the schemes of compulsory education for all children of the 6-11 age group in villages with a population of more than 500. If you do not introduce compulsion at this stage, I am afraid there will be revolution in our country." I said these words before Shri Kher and other officers with such seriousness and feeling that Patwardhan looked at me as though I was going to bring about revolution in the country myself. Shri Kher, however, understood me, for he knew that I belonged to a rural area and an agricultural community and that I was irrepressible where the interests of the masses were concerned. He immediately replied, "Yes, we must take up the question of compulsory Primary education along with the amendment of the Primary Education Act. Work out the cost and we shall introduce the bill early next year." Shri Patwardhan, however, pointed out that the cost might be prohibitive and wasteful if we introduced compulsion in the smaller villages; compulsion might be restricted to villages with a population of more than 1000. I agreed, and it was decided that we should put up definite schemes on the lines decided upon. My spirits rose and I was very happy about the outcome.

Soon after, there was a general conference of Education Ministers of all the provinces in which the Congress party was in power, to take stock of the position in regard to Basic education in the country. All the Education Ministers as well as the Congress social workers interested in Basic education were invited. The conference was held in the Council Hall, Poona. Mahatma Gandhi also attended it. Shri Patwadhan, Shri L. R. Desai and myself also attended it but more as observers than as participants and to supply the necessary information to Shri Kher, chairman of the conference, as Education Minister of the host State. It was one of the most interesting conferences I have ever attended. Shri Avinashalingam, Education Minister of Madras,

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was on his legs and started talking in English. Mahatmaji asked him to speak in Hindi. Shri Avinashalingam replied, "Mahatmaji, unfortunately I do not know enough Hindi to make myself understood." Mahatmaji, replying in Hindustani, said, "All right, speak in Tamil. No English." It would be easier to divert the moon from its orbit than to make a politician from Tamilnad speak Hindi or Hindustani (as the national language was then called) in public. At this stage, Shri Kher out of sheer inquisitiveness asked Mahatmaji what use we had in the new India for English which we had already taken such pains to learn. Mahatmaji smilingly replied, "The only use you can make of English is to forget it as quickly as you can." General confusion followed as a result of the inability of the Ministers of non-Hindi provinces to speak in Hindi. The only exception was Shri Kher, who was such a linguist that he could speak with ease and fluency, in English, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada, perhaps also in Sanskrit. He was, therefore, safe in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, but not the others. After considerable exchange of views on this point, Mahatmaji withdrew his objection to speeches in English. The local social workers of Maharashtra spoke in Marathi. This latitude naturally smoothed the way. At some stage, it had looked as though the conference would break down on the language issue. Dr. Zakir Hussain and Prof. Saiyidain were also present to explain the philosophy of Basic education for the benefit of the Education Ministers. Of course, there were as many opinions on Basic education as there were members in the conference. We were supposed to be mere spectators, but when some point was raised by a member of the conference specifically relating to our experience in the Bombay State, we had to explain the official position as we knew it. The next day, a social worker from Ahmednagar demanded in all seriousness police protection for those responsible for the implementation of Basic education. Everybody was intrigued by this demand. Shri Kher looked at me, as though he wanted one of us to explain what the matter was. So I rose and told the conference the history of the case which I knew, somewhat on these lines:

"Some social workers have curious ideas about Basic education. This particular social worker thinks that Basic education means that the children should look after the cattle or sheep or do agricultural work along with their parents. He will have no use for books or slates or even a Basic craft or a school. The villagers have been irritated by the activities of this kind of social worker. They demand good education for their children, while these social workers in Maharashtra want the children to follow the parents' occupations instead of going

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to school. They, therefore, think that the social workers want their children to remain as ignorant as themselves. In other words, while the villagers ask for bread, these people give them stones. Hence the villagers attack them with sticks and there have been cases in Ahmednagar district where social workers have been seriously injured. The social workers asked the Department to give them police protection in forcing their ideas on the villagers; but the Department thought that they were doing great injustice to Mahatmaji's concept of Basic education. We, therefore, advised them to stop their activities in the villages pending the return of the Congress Government." Many members laughed at the social worker who had provoked this answer and the matter was dropped.

Another social worker emphasised the importance of growing food even in places where there was no land. For instance, he said they could fill an earthen pot, with soil and manure and grow vegetables even in a crowded town like Bombay. On this, Miss Rustomji, who was Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Bombay, got up and said, "Yes Sir. I have tried this experiment in my office in Bombay. I spent more than Rs. 3 on an earthen pot, soil and manure and grew cucumbers in it. Actually the plant climbed up to the floor above mine and yielded a cucumber, which was of course, eaten by the children upstairs. I did not mind spending some money of my own on this hobby, but it would be a different story if the experiment were carried on, on a large scale as an economic proposition." Fortunately, Mahatmaji was not there just then, for, Miss Rustomji told the story in a manner which made it sound very ridiculous indeed. She has always been somewhat outspoken.

Yet another social worker said in connection with the training of teachers, "Why must you waste time in constructing buildings for training Basic teachers? You could hire them and get on with your work." Here Shri Patwardhan got up and said, "Yes, it is a good idea. Actually it occurred *even to us*. The difficulty, however, is that we cannot get buildings on rent for the purpose." Shri Kher could hardly suppress his laughter and said, "I like the words 'even to us' ". Patwardhan was annoyed at the way Shri Kher occasionally referred to his officers. Although the difficulties in the way of popularising Basic education were the creation of Congress workers for the most part, Shri Kher and other Ministers often took it for granted that the officers were either ignorant of the principles of Basic education or were inclined to sabotage it merely because it came from them. This was unfair to the Department. Actually, there was hardly any State in India in which more sincere efforts were made by the

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Education Department in this direction. Every one was anxious to make a success of it and particularly Shri L. R. Desai, Special Officer for Basic Education, spared no pains at all. Yet, what could anybody do with these social workers? Shri Kher, of course, had, for political reasons, to praise them, at least in public, and run down the Departmental officers. Miss Rustomji was extremely annoyed at this and tried to tackle Shri Kher on this point. After the conference was over, we had met one morning in Poona, to discuss ways and means of popularising Basic education. When we were about to break up for lunch, Miss Rustomji accosted Shri Kher and straight way asked him, "Sir, I want to know what exactly you mean by running us down before outsiders. Do you really think that we do not know our job? Why not sack us then? Or allow us to retire?" That very morning, we had convinced Shri Kher that we knew the educational potentialities of a craft and that we were serious in carrying out the policy of Government. So he was in a mood to concede that he had been a little unfair to the officers. He said, "Oh, I am sorry, I did not mean it. Do not take it to heart." Miss Rustomji should have kept quiet at this point; but she was boiling with indignation. "Sir," she went on, "what is the good of insulting us in public and privately expressing regret?" This annoyed Shri Kher, who said, "Do you want me to apologize to you in a newspaper?" Miss Rustomji cooled down a bit, "No, I did not mean that, Sir." After Shri Kher went away, we all scolded her for pressing it too much. On the other hand, this was typical of Shri Kher. My own impression is that he had two minds on the question of Basic education. For political reasons he must support what was demanded of him by the Congress party; on the other hand, he was never clear in his mind as to the way in which either the other subjects could be correlated with a craft, or Basic education could be made self-supporting. Occasionally, when we told him about the heavy cost of Basic education, he used to say, "Basic education is a good education and, like all good education, must cost more." When he was in the midst of politicians, he would, of course, strike a different note. That was a time of deception as far as education was concerned. Many Education Ministers of other States, particularly U. P. and Bihar, used to give an exaggerated picture of their achievements. They knew the art of advertisement. When Shri Kher heard from these Ministers that they were doing a magnificent job of Basic education, his jealousy was roused and he thought his own officers were lagging behind. Actually, nothing of the kind happened anywhere. In U. P., the kind of Basic education introduced was entirely different from the model placed before the

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country by Mahatmaji. It meant the preparation of a few toys and other articles by hand and a few activities like singing and dancing, without any correlation with the three R's! The net per capita cost in Basic schools in Bihar was about three times that in an ordinary school!

Shri Patwardhan was about to retire shortly and the question of the appointment of a successor came up for consideration. There were still four I. E. S. officers and about five B. E. S. Class I officers above me. To avoid complications about the claims of the I.E.S. officers, Government thought the best way would be to extend the services of Shri Patwardhan by one year. That was, indeed, the best possible solution of a difficult situation. The formal orders giving extension of service to Shri Patwardhan were duly received. In the meantime, another complication arose. Shri Patwardhan was offered a temporary membership of the Union Public Service Commission for a period of six months, and he vacillated between remaining as D. P. I. for another year and accepting his membership of the U. P. S. C. He thought perhaps he might be continued as a member of the U. P. S. C. after the six months were over. Eventually he accepted the temporary membership; and so the problem of his successor still remained to be settled.

Shri M. D. Bhansali was still Secretary to Government in the Education Department, Shri D. S. Joshi, Deputy Secretary and Mr. Taunton, Chief Secretary—all I. C. S. officers. The Chief Secretary seemed to have had a brain-wave on the question of the head of the Education Department. I. C. S. people always rise to the occasion. Apparently, Shri Bhansali and Mr. Taunton suggested the idea of an I. C. S. officer being posted as D. P. I. for a year or two until all the I. E. S. officers had retired and I could wait till then. There was also a proposal, according to a rumour everybody heard in those days, that I should be shifted to Bombay as Joint Secretary to Government in the Education Department. The exact proposals were known only to the top officers in the Secretariat; but there was no doubt that some such proposals were made to Government. Presumably, such proposals were previously discussed with the Chief Minister before they were put up. The two Deputy D. P. I.'s—myself and Nurullah—and Shri L. R. Desai, Assistant D. P. I. were unhappy at the idea of an I. C. S. officer coming over us. Such a thing was unknown in the Education Department of Bombay Presidency. We thought it was a downright insult to the Department. If seniority or the existence of a few I. E. S. officers was mainly responsible for this innovation, we were quite prepared to serve loyally under one of the senior officers in the collegiate branch, but we were reluctant to serve under an I. C. S. officer, however brilliant he might be. Of course, this was what we talked among

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ourselves. We could not make such a representation to Government on the strength of a vague rumour. At this stage, all the top officers in the administrative branch of the Education department were united on the issue. Whom they appointed D. P. I. from among the officers of the Education Department was Government's concern but none of us cared to see an outsider dominate the Education Department, whatever the reason. Even now I am surprised at the bond of unity and loyalty then existing among us. If any officer of the Department were to be appointed D. P. I. it would be undoubtedly myself. Yet, Shri Nurullah and Shri Desai were equally keen that an outsider should not be appointed. They were not going to gain anything in this business. It was only self-respect and solidarity that made them bitter, equally with me, at the prospect of an I. C. S. officer being appointed. Before actually putting up the proposals, Government tried a very clever ruse. They appointed Shri Nurullah as a one-man committee to examine the possibility of combining the offices of the D. P. I. and the Secretary to Government in the Education Department in the interest of expeditious disposal. This was of course, Shri Kher's own idea, for he used to be annoyed at the long delays in the disposal of files. Government was perhaps thinking of an I. C. S. officer at the head of both offices, a Jt. Secretary in Bombay and a Jt. D. P. I. in Poona, the last two officers being taken from the Education Department. If this was Government's idea, it was undoubtedly an ingenious one, and to appoint Shri Nurullah as the one-man committe was indeed a master-stroke. Government did not want my advice on the point or, for that matter, Shri Patwardhan's. It was intriguing why Shri Nurullah alone should be asked to advise Government on the issue. At this distance of time, my own explanation of this somewhat extraordinary procedure is that they wanted to divide us—the senior members in the administrative branch of the Education Department. Shri Nurullah would have benefited financially by being Jt. D. P. I. under an I. C. S. D. P. I. and I would also have benefited likewise by being Jt. Secretary or something like that. Or it might have been the other way round. Shri Nurullah would have been Jt. Secretary and I, Jt. D. P. I. A few hundred rupees more in our pockets and the whole problem was solved! Shri Nurullah, however, was a highly self-respecting educationist and would not barter away the prestige of the Education Department for a mess of pottage. He was not the calculating sort in a matter like this. He wrote a trenchant report, as usual with him, on the subject. He agreed that the best way of avoiding unnecessary delay in the disposal of cases in the Education Department was to amalgamate the D. P. I.'s office with the office of the Secretary to Government in the Education

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Department, but he maintained that the Head of this combined office must by an educationist by profession. Otherwise, there would be no improvement. This was a subtle way of upsetting the Government's apple-cart. I must salute Nurullah for this disinterested service to the Education Department!

The powers-that-be in the Government were at their wits' end. The I. C. S. bloc was determined to make me wait for some years, at least so long as the I. E. S. lasted. In this desperate mood, they decided to go ahead with their plan of appointing one of their tribe D. P. I. and transferring me to the Secretariat. Apart from financial considerations, I was not temperamentally prepared to serve as Secretary, Joint Secretary or Deputy Secretary or whatever job they wanted me to do at the Secretariat. I had very strong views on every subject in Education and was not, therefore, the man to say "Yes Sir," to a Minister. I should have been extremely miserable in that capacity, and probably the Education Minister might have been unhappy too. I, therefore, told Patwardhan to inform Government that we were prepared to accept any officer of our Department as D. P. I. but not an I. C. S. officer, and, if Government persisted in their plans, I would proceed on long leave and very likely retire on proportionate pension. I thought it a humiliation to see the Minister or anybody else on a personal matter. So I saw nobody, nor did my colleagues, Nurullah and Desai. There was a Minister from Karnatak—Shri M. P. Patil. He was an old school friend of mine and was then a new Cabinet Minister. I saw him and said, "Look here, you must do a good turn to me, now that you are a Cabinet Minister." He anxiously asked me what it was. I said, "The question of filling the D. P. I.'s post is under the consideration of the Chief Minister. If he by any chance asks you about me, all you have to do is to disown any acquaintance with me. In other words, you must say that you do not know me well enough to pronounce any opinion in the matter." He agreed with me and added, "I am sure he will not consult me in so important a matter, specially one that does not concern my department. Shri Kher knows you well enough and, if he still consults me, I will say that I do not know you." This was good enough for me, for, I did not want any M. L. As. or Cabinet Ministers to plead my case before Shri Kher and that for two reasons. One was my anxiety not to show that I was connected in any way with any communal or linguistic group, and the second was that I really wanted to be free from politicians. I had my fears that if any politician—particularly from the Karnatak group—pleaded my case with the Chief Minister, with or without success, he

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would make capital of it and ask me later to oblige him in a variety of ways. So I scrupulously avoided all politicians and, in fact, nobody knew there was any such crisis in the Education Department. I was happy in this respect. Even the D. P. I., Shri Patwardhan, was not the man to go out of his way to plead any case with the Chief Minister.

So the I. C. S. people in the Secretariat proceeded with their plan, and the file moved steadily from one office to another. Shri Patwardhan was to hand over charge on the afternoon of 23rd January, 1947. On the 22nd January we had called in Poona a conference of the Administrative Officers of the School Boards of the whole State. Shri Patwardhan attended the conference only for a short while and asked me to carry on. So I explained to the Administrative Officers the broad changes in the Primary Education Act contemplated by Government. I almost went through page after page of the Bombay Primary Education Act and the rules framed thereunder, as in a classroom. Obviously enough, the Deputy Secretary, Shri D. S. Joshi, who attended this conference showed extraordinary interest in the relevant sections of the P. E. Act and the rules which were going to be changed. He also showed great interest in the questions put to me by the Administrative Officers and the answers I gave them. When we broke up for lunch, all our officers wondered whether Shri Joshi was going to be the new D. P. I. as he was taking such a keen interest in our affairs. He was probably the I. C. S. officer who was thought of for the post and had come to Poona to take charge. That was not, however, the case, and our fears had no basis at all, for Shri Joshi left for Bombay the same evening. I asked Shri Patwardhan whether he knew anything at all about his successor. He said that even Shri Joshi did not know. The file had not yet returned from the Education Minister, who was at the time in Delhi. Shri Joshi, however, had asked Patwardhan to hand over charge to me until Government's decision was known. The Constituent Assembly was then in session, and Shri Kher, as a member, used to be in Delhi for months together during the session. In the absence of specific orders from Government, Shri Patwardhan handed over charge to me on 22nd January, 1947 after office hours, as instructed by the Secretary. I had no idea how long that charge would remain with me—might be for a week or so, at the most! Shri Patwardhan showed me heaps of files, all neatly arranged in piles—each pile representing the arrears of a particular month. With a certain amount of understandable pride for the pains he had taken on this systematic arrangement of files, he said, "This pile represents arrears over nine months, this over eight months and so on." Although I was by

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no means in the mood for jokes, I asked him what he thought would happen to those piles next month. To that he replied, "Oh, I would take care to sort out the files again and put them in the proper pile for each month." I could not resist the temptation of saying, "But instead of wasting your time in arranging all these files of arrears, why could you not dispose of and be done with them?" Shri Patwardhan had no answer. Since we were to give him a party on behalf of the office in a day or two later, I did not say a formal "Good bye" to him. It was too early yet. I only wished him success in his new position as member of the Union Public Service Commission.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN :

as director of public instruction

1. Appointment.

The next morning, 24th January 1947, there was a meeting of the Syndicate of the Bombay University. The D. P. I. is ex-officio member of the Syndicate and I made myself bold to attend it, though I was merely holding charge of the post of D. P. I. Principal V. K. Joag, and other friends asked me in the 'Deccan Queen' who was to be Patwardhan's successor. I told them the orders had not yet been received and that I had been asked to hold charge for the time being. They all hoped I would be selected. These were mostly Principals or Professors of the Poona Colleges and travelling together in the train to and from Bombay, we had become great friends. It was natural that they would wish me well, but what the actual position was at the moment no one knew except a few top officers in the Secretariat. It was not clear why orders were being delayed so long. We thought that some complication had arisen and that Government's original idea of bringing in an I. C. S. officer had perhaps gone awry.

On reaching Bombay, I drove straight to the Secretariat. I wanted to call on the Education Secretary, Shri M. D. Bhansali, and find out the position but on the way I met Shri N. B. Rangnekar, Assistant Secretary, who heartily congratulated me on my appointment as D. P. I., saying "We have just received the file back from Delhi and the Chief Minister has passed orders that you should be appointed D. P. I. pending further orders." I asked him, "What happens to the file next? I am afraid somebody may still put a spoke in the wheel." Rangnekar assured me that under the 1935 Government of India Act, the Governor had no powers to interfere with the decisions of the Chief Minister and that the file would be sent merely for the Governor's perusal before notifying the appointment. I thought to myself that the battle of life was at long last won and that I had got my chance

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to do something I was looking forward to for years. I was also assured by Rangnekar that the words "pending further orders" were meant only to cover the delicate position about senior officers, etc. and would not come in the way of my confirmation. The Secretary himself, though he congratulated me, was a little cold and stand-offish and asked me to see D. S. Joshi, the Deputy Secretary, with whom, to all intents and purposes, I had to work. Joshi received me cordially. He said, "Shri Kher is a very exacting person, let us push through all his schemes and make a success of them." I assured him I would spare no pains. I gathered the impression that the I. C. S. officers in the Secretariat felt beaten. When I called on Mr. Taunton, Chief Secretary, he congratulated me all right, but he did not hide a feeling of annoyance. He said, "There are many senior officers you have superseded and I do not know how they will take it." I said, "In your I. C. S. cadre, you go by merit and suitability. Your judicial and executive branches are separate. A person junior to you might have become Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. You don't make a grievance of it, do you? Similarly, in the Education Department, the teaching or collegiate branch is distinct from the administrative, so why should you grudge the senior officer in the administrative branch holding the highest position on his side?" To this he replied, "The only difference is that the Chief Judge is not my boss, whereas you are now the boss of the whole college staff including Principals who are a generation senior to you." But I did not care to continue the argument now that the whole thing was over. So I asked him gently, "By the way, what happened to your idea of appointing an I. C. S. officer? There was a thick rumour to that effect." He said, with a wink, "Mr. Morarji torpedoed it. He was set against an I. C. S. officer being appointed. Perhaps he was right. Anyway, it is a new experiment, this appointing of a junior officer as Head of a Department and I wish you all success." When he volunteered this information, I did not like to embarrass him by asking for more details. By piecing together the various threads, it came to be known that, but for Shri Morarjibhai Desai, the scheme of appointing an I. C. S. officer as D. P. I. for a couple of years, would have gone through. Although Shri Morarjibhai was in charge of the Home and Revenue Departments, Shri Kher never failed to consult him on difficult matters. As report went, when this particular file reached him, he sent for Shri Bhansali and gave him a bit of his mind. He is reported to have said, "Do you think that I. C. S. officers are omniscient? What do you all know about educational problems?" This explains why Shri Bhansali looked so crest-fallen. Shri Morarjibhai has been known to be good to officers under him, particularly

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to the I. C. S. officers with whom he had served as Deputy Collector in his early career. This is the only known occasion when he snubbed them and put the whole class in their proper place.

I attended the Syndicate meeting at 12 noon and informed all the members of my appointment. Most of the members were my friends and were genuinely happy at the news. According to the long-standing practice, I was made to sit next to the Vice-Chancellor, and I must say I really felt jubilant.

Barring a few, I did not give publicity to the news in my office or elsewhere. For, I was still afraid that somebody might raise the bogey of seniority and put a spoke in my wheel. So two days after, at the farewell party in the office to Patwardhan, none of us referred to his successor. We only spoke of his cheerful personality, his spirit of accommodation, his conscientious and impartial treatment of his flock and his capacity for hard work. Patwardhan was visibly moved when he replied. With him departed the long tradition of D. P. I. in the Indian Education Service and a new chapter in the History of Education, at least as far as Bombay State was concerned, began.

I had long been applying my mind to the nature of the problems I would be required to tackle in the event of my appointment as Head of the Department. Now the time had come to put my plans into operation. The first and foremost was how to raise the general efficiency of the office and the department as a whole. I would not tolerate delays and indifference in dealing both with Government and the public. Secondly, I must see that Government would not interfere in my administration and whatever proposals I made to Government must be such as would be accepted by them. This meant that I must send such proposals as were entirely justifiable in the public interest and no reasonable man could possibly quarrel with. The reputation of the D. P. I. before 1920 had been so great that his proposals used to be accepted by Government by return of post. I was anxious that this position should be restored. During the period 1920-45 Government and the D. P. I. appeared to be at cross-purposes as it were; the Government and the D. P. I. barely saw eye to eye on most problems and the D. P. I. was often humiliated by Government's turning down his proposals. The fault might be sometimes with the Minister and sometimes with the D. P. I. My aim was that such a thing should not happen in my regime. After all, what interests had I which were also not Government's? Shri B. G. Kher was very patriotic. He wanted to spread education among the masses; so did I. He wanted there should be no complaints from the public about the administration. I was equally anxious not to give any cause for public criticism of my administration.

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There was hardly any field of educational administration in which Shri Kher and I had any fundamental differences. So there was no need for mental adjustment at all to accommodate Shri Kher's views at least as far as routine administration went. In matters of policy, on the other hand, Government's views had to be finally implemented. My role would be confined to advice. So I thought I had now an excellent opportunity to do great things in the Education Department.

The orders of my appointment were received after a week or so, but another week had to elapse before they were published in the gazette. The news had not appeared in the press so far. The first newspaper to publish my appointment was *Samyukta Karnatak*, Hubli, which wrote a leader in praise of my appointment straightaway. This was because there were quite a few Kannada clerks and officers in the D. P. I.'s office. They were all beside themselves with joy when Government's orders were received. One of them had gone to Hubli on some business and apparently broadcast the news there. So, before it could appear in the gazette, it had appeared in the Bombay papers, as their Hubli correspondents flashed the news based on the *Samyukta Karnatak*. The Marathi papers too were happy. The Poona *Sakal*, in particular, wrote an editorial congratulating Government on so well-deserved an appointment and hoping that the Department would be hereafter humming with activity. Hundreds of congratulatory letters poured in from all parts of Bombay State, from members of the Legislature, from personal friends and from teachers of all ranks. I have always been proud of the fact that the first such letter I received was from a Primary school teacher of Satara District. I am unable to say how he came to know of it earlier than the others. When the excitement of the news was over and all letters were answered, I settled down to the task of improving the morale of the office. I had every intention of putting new life into the Department. I called all the officers and clerks to my room and addressed them somewhat on these lines; "Now we have our own Government which we must serve loyally. Our Chief Minister is a great taskmaster and would not tolerate delays in the disposal of cases. You all have to work hard and raise the prestige of the office. I know all of you individually and your strong as well as weak points. You all have many opportunities of promotion, as the office will soon expand to double the present size. About one thing I must warn you at the very beginning. You are accustomed to putting up a nice typed note or draft letter and, in preparing it, you generally take a long time hunting for previous references, particularly if it is a difficult case. Your work will be still appreciated if you just bring the case up to me. I shall

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dictate a note or draft letter in your presence and dispose of the case. Do not in any case delay the disposal, merely because you do not know yourself how to deal with it. I know all the branches of the office and any difficult case is my responsibility. I shall, however, take you to task if you sit tight on a case and do nothing about it." I demanded the utmost from my subordinates, while I intended to give of my best myself. While I would reward those who were devoted to their job and were progressive in their outlook, I would not hesitate to condemn the shirkers or the dishonest. Several people had come into trouble for crooked behaviour or dishonest practices in the past under me. The Departmental officers knew me well enough to realise that no influence would save them in case they went astray. The advantage I had over my predecessors was that I knew most of the officers—district and divisional—personally and could, by writing personal demi-official letters, get them to do their jobs promptly and efficiently. This way I could cut down the red tape. Within a few days of my assumption of office, I was well in the saddle, with a firm grip of the reins.

In a matter of two weeks, all the arrears and Government references had been disposed of and I began to flood Government with new proposals not only for improving the administration but also for development. From that time onwards, the initiative for development, improvement and educational reform lay with me and the Secretary. The Education Minister was concerned with matters of policy of a political nature, and I gave my frank advice in the interests of the State regardless whether he accepted it or not. In such matters there was no dearth of advisers to Shri Kher.

II. Appointment of the Principal of the Secondary Teachers' College, Bombay.

Immediately on assumption of my duties as D. P. I., I realised that Government had made a serious mistake in taking a decision to appoint a junior Inspecting officer as Principal of the Secondary Training College, Bombay. The most senior and suitable person for the post was Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji, Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Bombay division. My predecessor had recommended her for the post, but Government had for some unknown reasons decided to appoint some one else. I thought I should start badly as Director, if these Government orders were issued, for two reasons :

In the first place, the officers of the Education Department would lose faith in Government if it could not be relied upon for

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doing what was just and fair. Secondly, the particular officer whom Government was about to promote as Principal was undesirable in every way for the post. The undeserved promotion would create an impression in the Department that influence was all that mattered. This would upset all our plans of development, as it was bound to make our officers lose heart in their work. On the other hand, Miss Rustomji had started her career in the Department as Lecturer in the Secondary Traning College. She had taken the Cambridge Tripos in English, had a Diploma in Education and was now the most senior person in the Administrative branch of B. E. S. class I scale, with about twenty years' service. The Principal's post carried, in addition to the pay in the class I scale, a Principal's allowance of Rs. 100 p.m. and free residential quarters. So the Inspecting officers looked forward to occupying this key post, and Miss Rustomji was bound to be sorely disappointed. Moreover, with all her virtues, she had a somewhat loose tongue and, being no respecter of persons, would air her grievances against Government publicly. About fifteen years before, when I was Educational Inspector and she Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Bombay division, we were asked to see a member of the British Parliament at Government House. He was interested in the educational development of India and wanted to get from us first-hand information about conditions in Bombay Presidency. We explained the position and I incidentally said we were not able to introduce compulsory Primary education for lack of funds. At this Miss Rustomji burst out, "Lack of funds, indeed! Look at this potty little Governor! He must have his band to play at lunch time. When the King Emperor can digest his lunch without a band, the Bombay Governor can't." When I heard these words spoken—or rather shrieked—in the presence of the A. D. C. to the Governor (Sir Frederick Sykes), I feared they would take us for communists! The A. D. C., however, smiled and offered each of us a drink with biscuits. Miss Rustomji never showed any restraint and, whatever the occasion, would just let herself go and call a spade a spade, no matter who the person she was speaking to or about. Now, such a person was not likely to be reticent when her own claims for the post were set aside. So, I thought I would personally explain the gravity of the situation to Shri Kher. I first discussed it with Shri D. S. Joshi. He said the Chief Minister had already passed orders and they were just under issue. He wasn't sure they would now be revised.

Shri Joshi has always been an amiable sort of man, always ready to oblige. He is one of the good type of I. C. S. officer—

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conscientious, hard-working and efficient—and we had already become friends in spite of my old prejudices against the I. C. S. tribe. When I asked him to arrange for an interview with the Chief Minister, he readily agreed to do so and also not to issue the orders until we had all three talked it over again. So, at the appointed time, we met Shri Kher in his chambers in the Council Hall, Bombay. I came slowly to the subject, but once I had broached it, I gave reasons one after another, why that particular person should not be promoted out of turn. Shri Kher listened to me patiently, but it was evident he had a strong prejudice against Miss Rustomji. He said she had no control over her tongue. To that I said, "Nothing can be done now to cure her of that; actually she is a good sort, very well-meaning, honest and sincere. Apart from this, she is interested in educational literature and teaching methods. She will make an excellent Principal. As regards her garrulous nature, she will do less damage to the Department as Principal of the Secondary Training College than as Inspectress of Girls' schools, in which position she comes more in contact with the public." Shri Kher then said, "She has sometimes spoken ill of me. Many people have no good opinion of her at all." I replied, "It is true, Sir, that she will not spare anybody. Actually, she has often said harsh things about me too, privately as well as in a public meeting. She is not diplomatic enough to say nice things about persons without meaning them. She just says what she feels and I have often benefited from her criticism of me, for she is invariably right. She is not accustomed to administering sugar-coated pills." I do not know in what light Shri Kher took the last bit of my answer; for, it gently suggested that she was right in her criticism of Shri Kher too! He, however, agreed to reconsider the matter in the light of what I had said and I was quite pleased with myself, as I would have been very much cut up about Miss Rustomji's supersession. Shri Kher, as Education Minister, had a Parliamentary Secretary—Miss Indumati Seth, a well-known Congress worker, belonging to a very rich and influential family of Ahmedabad. She was quite new to the position then; but she was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi. She had just begun to take interest in the Education Department and had somehow taken kindly to me. She was also interested in Miss Rustomji's appointment, as a champion of women's rights. I believe she also expressed to Shri Kher her strong opinion that Miss Rustomji should be appointed. Any way, within a fortnight the orders of Government were received appointing Miss Rustomji as Principal of the Secondary Teachers' College, Bombay. It had a reassuring effect on the morale of the whole

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Department of Education; for it clearly proved that mere influence or prejudice would not be of much avail in the Department and that promotions would go on merit-cum-seniority, which was the pivot of my administrative policy. Like Miss Rustomji, I was also no respecter of any person and would say exactly how I felt in any case, the only difference being that I used more moderate language. I still remember the warmth of feeling Miss Rustomji and Miss. Indumati Seth showed to me that year. Somehow they had found out my birthday, which I had never cared to celebrate, publicly. They invited me to tea on the day, as I happened to be in Bombay, and gave me a very enjoyable time.

III. Primary Education.

The first thing we had to do was to amend the Primary Education Act so as to remove the major defects we had noticed in its working since the 1938 amendment. Shri Kher did not like the politics prevailing in the School Boards and was of the view that the whole control of Primary Education should revert to Government. He was prepared to find the funds for the expansion and development of Primary Education in the State without any contribution from the Local Authorities (i.e. the Municipalities and District Local Boards). He particularly deprecated the appointments made on a communal basis—the reservations made on the basis of classes, viz., Advanced, Intermediate and Backward (including scheduled classes and aboriginal tribes). These reservations and the percentage of marks in the Primary School Leaving Examination required for appointments of Primary teachers for each class were laid down by the D. P. I. for avoiding injustice to any community and also to prevent the corruption that might creep in. I was clear in my mind that, if the powers of appointment and transfer vested in one person—whether a Government officer or a non-official, he was bound to play havoc with the administration. So I suggested that appointments of teachers should be made by a staff selection committee consisting of two Government officers and the Chairman of the School Board. My own view was that the great experiment of Local Self-Government in the field of Primary Education should not be abandoned after twenty five years and that it should be mended rather than ended. In those days, there was an Education Council to advise Government on all matters of policy. There used to be on it experienced educationists representing Primary, Secondary and University education, as well as officers like the Secretary Government and the D. P. I.

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The Council too advised Government not to abolish the School Boards and proposed that the real powers vest in a small committee representing Government as well as the Board's interests. So, at long last, Government had to abandon its idea of abolishing the School Boards. Accordingly, I submitted my proposals for the amendment of the Primary Education Act 1923, and the new amendment Bill was introduced in the Legislature in 1947 and passed as an Act early in 1948. The main object of the Bill was to provide for compulsory Primary education and to make better provision for the development, expansion, management and control of Primary education in the province. The Bill was intended to set up a machinery to carry on efficiently the great educational expansion we had in view and to secure coordination and uniformity of method in this process of expansion. Some important administrative changes were also brought about by the new Act. The main idea was the provision made in the case of every School Board for the staff to be selected by the Staff Selection Committees consisting of the Divisional Educational Inspector, the Chairman of the School Board and the Administrative officer (i.e. two Government officers and a non-official) and for an Appellate Tribunal consisting of the Chairman and the Educational Inspector to be set up, to hear appeals in respect of punishments such as dismissal, removal or reduction or any other orders involving disciplinary action in respect of the School Board employees. The rates of pay and allowance of the Primary teachers both under the District School Boards and authorised Municipalities were to be fixed by Government under the new Act. This indirectly meant that the responsibility for the payment of the salaries of Primary teachers passed from the Boards to Government. These measures ensured impartial selection of Primary teachers, contentment of teachers and efficient administration.

There were some other measures also taken by Government on the recommendation of the Provincial Board of Primary education. The duration of the entire Primary education course before 1947 was eight years—five years elementary or Lower Primary and three years Upper Primary. The five-year elementary course was the one that was intended to be made compulsory. This stage of Primary education comprised the Infant class and stds. I-IV. Children mostly stagnated in the Infant class. Owing to the impending compulsory elementary education for the entire State, it was proposed to simplify the syallabus, particularly of the elementary stage, to avoid stagnation and wastage. On this ground, as well as for financial reasons, it was decided to abolish the Infant class. The content of education for the four years stage of elementary education was grouped under three

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heads—Language, Arithmetic and General Knowledge, which included interesting topics under History, Geography, Nature study, Agriculture, Civics and Hygiene, appropriate to the children's age. The most important feature of the new syllabus was the attention children were required to pay to practical work, such as cleanliness of the classroom and of the school compound, entertaining the community, and participation in national and seasonal festivals.

Government had accepted the policy of introducing Basic education by progressive stages in all Primary schools and, as a first step, it had been decided to introduce as soon as possible, the teaching of some craft in every Primary school.

Good teachers are those who not only possess the necessary academic, professional and moral qualifications, but are also contented and happy, and know their obligation to the society. The Congress Government was naturally sympathetic to the teaching profession as a whole and in particular to Primary teachers. In 1946, the Primary teachers had organised a strike to voice their grievances against the meagre scales applicable to those appointed after 1935. Owing to the Second World War, the cost of living had risen enormously by 1946. On the assumption of power by the Congress Government in 1946, the Government carefully considered the question of salary scales of Primary school teachers and sanctioned provisional revised scales and allowances. Early in 1946, when, as a result of the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission, the pay scales of Government servants were revised, a further upward revision of the pay scales was sanctioned with effect from first January, 1947 so as to place Primary teachers precisely on the same footing as Government servants of the corresponding grade. As a result of this revision, no Primary teacher received less than Rs. 70 p. m. including dearness allowance. The maximum was Rs. 125 p. m.

The recommendations made by the Committee appointed in 1939 under my chairmanship to advise Government on the selection and preparation of textbooks for Primary schools were carefully considered by the new Government, and it was decided to introduce gradually in all Primary schools textbooks prepared by Government on the basis of the principles indicated in the Committee's report. I got three Regional Textbook Committees appointed for the preparation of Readers for stds. I to IV in Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada. No textbooks in other subjects, viz. Arithmetic and General Knowledge, were required up to std. IV. These Readers were to be illustrated in colour. The Bombay Government had decided to nationalise the textbooks up to std. IV. The Primer and Reader I were to be ready by

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about June, 1948, Reader II by about June, 1949 and Readers III and IV by about June, 1950.

Thus, within a few months of my appointment as D. P. I., I was saddled with the following responsibilities in connection with Primary education :

1. Arrangements to be made to pay the Primary teachers according to the new rules.
2. Introduction of compulsory elementary education.
3. Gradual introduction of the new syllabus including introduction of a craft.
4. Preparation of language Readers and selection of text books.
5. Improvement of administration.

I was genuinely interested in all these schemes, as I had been concerned with them at some stage or the other. Our Education Minister was anxious that Bombay province should be second to none in the field of education. Since he was also the Chief Minister, we had no difficulty about funds either. The funds required for implementation of these and other development schemes of my Department were provided by the Finance Department. It was not necessary at all for my Minister to speak to the Finance Minister Shri Vaikunthabhai Mehta, about it. Actually, Shri D. S. Joshi, now the Joint Secretary to the Education Department, who functioned to all intents and purposes, as Secretary, used to negotiate with the Finance Department and get all the funds required by us. The relationship between the office of the Secretary in Bombay and that of the D. P. I. in Poona became more informal and a good many things were accomplished by mere discussion on the phone. I never had to wait in carry out such important schemes, for the arrival of Government orders. I took them for granted and went ahead; for one thing, Shri Kher would never tolerate delay or other form of inefficiency. Nor did I myself like to lose the initiative. Now somebody had to work out the additional liability of Government as a result of the revision of the salary scales of the Primary teachers and the introduction of compulsion. The usual method was to entrust the work to the Primary section of the D. P. I.'s office, who would call for the figures from the various Boards, which in their turn would take several months to send them. Then they would scrutinise the figures to see whether they were correctly calculated and then make up the total. The figures I wanted for sanctioning the additional funds to the School Boards would have ordinarily taken at least two years to come by. So I simplified the procedure and worked out the figures for each Board myself within a few hours on an approximate basis. We knew the average salary of the teachers under

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the old scale and that under the new scale. The difference had to be multiplied by the number of teachers. That would, of course, be a rough and ready method; but it would serve my purpose. Similarly, we knew the additional number of teachers and other officers required for introducing compulsory education. On that we could easily work out the approximate amount of additional funds required. So I submitted the proposals to Government, indicating the approximate additional expenditure calculated on this basis, marking it **Urgent.** Within a week, I had a phone call from the Jt. Secretary, Shri Joshi. His approach to the problem was similar to mine. He said, "We have to convince the Finance Department about the correctness of the figures of the additional funds required. Since you know how these figures have been arrived at, you had better come to Bombay and explain yourself the position to the Finance Secretary." The immediate additional recurring expenditure involved was of the order of two crores per annum, and we required the sanction of the Finance Department for it. This was to increase steadily to about four crores per annum within the next three or four years. Accordingly, I saw the Secretary, Finance Department, who directed me to the Deputy Secretary. Now the Deputy Secretary who was an I. C. S. officer, happened to be a son of a Poona Professor, whom I knew well. So I knew it would be smooth sailing for me. When I saw him he simply said, "These figures must be correct when they have been scrutinised by a mathematician like you. We shall accept them." Government orders were received in due course after a month or so, but I had already informed each Board of what the additional grant would be like and had asked them to work out the exact amount. I had also informed them that, subject to adjustment, the teachers might be paid their salary according to the new scales. This worked out beautifully and the teachers were paid in the shortest possible time. Otherwise, complaints from the teachers about their hardships would have caused sleepless nights to Shri Kher.

2. The actual enforcement of compulsory elementary education was a herculean task. First of all, a census of children of the school-going age had to be held in each village. The children who had attained the age of seven at the commencement of the school year were liable for compulsion. The children who had passed the IVth standard examination were not liable. Thus the compulsion was only for children of the seven to eleven age group and for standards I to IV. Since children could join school on a voluntary basis, at the age of six, many of them could pass the IVth standard examination before attaining the age of eleven. The Bombay Government had agreed to bear the full

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expenditure on Primary education of the District School Boards including that on the compulsory education provided the District Local Boards concerned agreed to increase the land cess to three annas in the rupee (nineteen paise) and to earmark fifteen pies (i.e. about eight paise) out of the cess towards Primary education. Fifteen out of twenty District Local Boards in the province agreed to earmark fifteen pies of the cess for Primary education, and it was necessary, therefore, to introduce compulsory education in those fifteen districts, during the year 1947-48. After a careful census held by the Inspecting and Attendance officers with the assistance of teachers, it was found that 2,48,000 additional children were to be brought to school under compulsion in the fifteen districts. We appointed 209 additional Attendance officers in 1947. The number of additional teachers actually appointed during the year in connection with compulsion was 5,801. It was a matter of considerable difficulty to find this teaching staff in addition to the number of additional teachers normally required as a result of retirement, etc. The real problem, however, was not the enrolment of children or the appointment of teachers or the starting of schools although they might present difficulties, but the enforcement of attendance, which is the index of success of a compulsory education scheme. Here, the ability and sincerity of the Attendance officers were put to the test. These officers had to go from house to house and induce parents to send their children to school. If the parents did not cooperate, legal action was to be taken against them. Any parent on whom notice to send his child to school had been passed and who failed to do so within the specified date, was liable to a fine of two rupees, but the procedure laid down for the prosecution and conviction of an erring parent was too elaborate. It would ordinarily take a long time before a magistrate or village officer, empowered in this behalf, took action against the defaulting parent. To be able to impose quick as well as deterrent punishment on defaulters and to get children to attend an approved school within, say, three months of the commencement of the academic year, we decided upon a simple procedure, under which the Headmaster or the Attendance officer could take immediate action on behalf of the Administrative officer. Even so, in the case of nomadic or hill tribes, it was difficult for the magistrate or any other person authorised in this behalf, to collect the fine or to take any other deterrent action. In some cases, the defaulting parents had no property worth the name and, owing to their inability to pay the fine, they had to be prosecuted and sent to gaol. What would be the gain? Our object was to bring all children to school and to see that they were brought up as decent children. How could this be achieved if the

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normal family life was disturbed by sending its earning member to gaol? The whole question of compulsory education bristles with difficulties. In many families, the child who is to brought into a school, is also earning a small wage, and the parents can ill afford to forego the additional income. The proper thing to do is to give at least a mid-day meal to the child forced to come to the school, in addition to books, slate and clothes. For myself, I took a very keen interest in the enforcement of compulsion and went to each district to explain to the officers how to handle difficult situations, as coercive methods do not generally succeed. I asked my officers to interpret the law with sympathy. Where the people were really poor, I arranged, with the cooperation of the local people, to give the children clothes, slates and books. In short, I tried to imbue the Attendance officers with missionary zeal. For three months in 1947, my main preoccupation was enforcement of compulsion in the fifteen districts of Bombay province. Our efforts were quite successful, inasmuch as, we were able to enrol about 90% of the additional children to be brought into schools under the compulsory scheme, and a little over 80% of them attended school regularly. Actually, we should be satisfied with 80% enrolment and 80% attendance in our country.

During the next year, i.e. 1947-48, the remaining five districts also agreed to raise the local fund cess to three annas and to earmark fifteen pies towards Primary education. So we introduced compulsory Primary education in those districts too from June, 1948. Thus, the old Bombay State in 1948, had the compulsory Primary education scheme successfully introduced throughout the State—a position not attained by most of the other States till 1962.

Broadly speaking, the number of additional children liable for compulsion at the commencement of the school year 1948-49 was 3,75,512. Of these, 3,26,564 were actually enrolled, and about 80% of these attended school regularly. This, too, could not be regarded as unsatisfactory.

The experience of these two years showed that to be more effective in the enforcement of compulsion, the Attendance officers must have more powers over teachers. Their status was not the same as that of the Inspecting officers of Primary schools. We, therefore, abolished the posts of Attendance officers and appointed most of the incumbents of these posts as Inspecting officers. The various duties connected with the enforcement of compulsory Primary education were distributed between the Primary teachers, headmasters of Primary schools and the Inspecting officers. This arrangement was found to be at once economical and conducive to efficiency.

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The movement for compulsory Primary education was so popular that it was difficult for us to cope with the problem of housing and staffing the new schools to be started to accommodate the additional children. During 1948-49, several states under "Princely India" in the Deccan and Gujarat merged in Bombay Province. We were not able to introduce compulsory Primary education straightaway in those areas, some of which were really backward in respect of education. Nevertheless, in one village of the Deccan States, the number of children going to school shot up from 250 to 800 on a voluntary basis. The people of the village realised that, in merging into Bombay State, they would be subjected to the same law as in the rest of the State, and volunteered to send their children to school, before any compulsory measure would be adopted. The following extract from the Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Province for the two years 1947-49 summarises the results of our efforts:

"By the end of the period under review, compulsion had been introduced in all the twenty districts of the province excluding the merged and integrated states. What has been achieved as the result of these measures during the last two years is reflected in the statistics embodied in this report, which are an eloquent testimony to the soundness and effectiveness of the policy adopted by Government. At the time of the introduction of compulsion, it was estimated that, when both the five-year plans materialised, it would be possible to bring about thirty lakhs of children into schools. At that time, about sixteen lakhs of children were already attending primary school. In the course of the two years under review, this number has already increased by 50 per cent to over twenty four lakhs in the Province proper, excluding the merged or the integrated states. The wastage figures during the two years also showed a downward tendency. In the year 1948-49, the percentage of children passing std. IV to the number of children in std. I four years back was over 50, whereas it used to be round about 40 in the past. This was the natural consequence of the measures adopted to counteract wastage and stagnation which affected considerably the lower Primary stage in the past. The Hartog committee had pointed out that one of the most effective remedies against stagnation and wastage was the introduction of compulsion. The experience gained during the last two years, has fully borne this out."

3. Dignity of labour and a desire for practical work formed the essential basis of instruction in the new set up. The syllabus for the elementary stage had been prepared on this new ideology. Further, the teaching of some productive craft was made compulsory throug-

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hout the Primary stage (i.e. stds. I to VII) with a view to the schools being converted eventually into Basic schools. The course of studies, spread over eight years, was reduced to seven years by the abolition of the Infant class. The shift system was introduced in stds. I and II and, in addition, a craft was included in the syllabus. This craft was mainly spinning in the lower classes, and weaving in the higher (i.e. stds. V to VII). Some of the officers in the Department, including myself, were sceptical about the economic return of spinning and weaving as a school subject. Nor were we convinced of its educational value as a preparation for life. On the other hand, we had for the last twenty five years or so, developed about a hundred Primary schools throughout the Bombay province as Agricultural Bias schools. I had been suggesting all along that spinning and weaving might be included only in a few experimental schools, for two reasons. First, spinning and weaving was to be tried as an educational project by correlating it with other subjects in the curriculum, as Mahatma Gandhi wanted; secondly, the experiment should prove that spinning and weaving would pay at least a part of the expenditure. We were not prepared to take a leap in the dark and embark on an experiment which might eventually ruin the educational system. My own view was that spinning and weaving might be introduced in one or two schools in each taluka in the first instance, and then we might cover more and more schools gradually on the basis of the results obtained. Moreover, with so many changes in the school curriculum to which an ordinary teacher was not accustomed, I feared that there might be chaos in Primary education. When such views were freely expressed in meetings and conferences, the Chief Minister probably felt I was inclined to be conservative, and that Basic education might not thrive under my direction. Of course, there was a special officer for Basic education, Shri L. R. Desai, who was first transferred to the office of the D. P. I. as Assistant D. P. I. and promoted later on to the rank of Deputy D. P. I. A more energetic and sincere man Government could not have found to carry out their policies regarding Basic education. Although I offered frank advice to Government on Basic education, I had to carry out Government policies as a loyal officer. Somehow, the Government of Bombay had decided to bring in Shri K. G. Saiyidain as Educational Adviser to Government towards the end of 1947. He was no doubt an eminent educationist and had taken a prominent part in developing the theory of Basic education along with Dr. Zakir Hussain. Moreover, he was a highly cultured person and there was nothing wrong about utilising his services in the Bombay State. And yet there was a furore on his appointment! Many people

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attacked Shri Kher in the press and the Legislature. This was mostly due to the strained relations between Hindus and Moslems at that time as a result of the partition of India. Now, what were to be the duties of the Educational Adviser? I was the official educational adviser in my capacity as D. P. I. The Secretary to Government Shri D. S. Joshi, was also an adviser to the Minister of Education. There was also an Educational Council consisting of eminent educationists of the State whose main function was to give advice on all matters of policy in education. So, what was left for Shri Saiyidain? He was at first attached to my office in Poona, but I could see he was unhappy as there was little or no work for him to do there. In the circumstances, I suggested to Government that he might be given an office in Bombay and function as Director of Basic Education and Social Education (i.e. Adult Education), relieving me of these responsibilities. Government agreed, and accordingly, Shri Saiyidain began to operate from Bombay although the special officer for Basic Education, Shri L. R. Desai, remained in my office, for the administration of the whole Department still remained with me. By 1948, spinning and weaving were introduced as crafts to be taught in 1214 Primary schools. Many schools had no place in which to store the necessary equipment. By that time, about 4000 teachers had been trained in the craft of spinning and weaving, but the main bottleneck was the additional accommodation required. Of course, we had allotted more than a lakh of rupees to each district for the construction of new schools, but we had now to allot more funds for the extension of the existing buildings to provide space for spinning and weaving. It took more than two years to enable the children actually to practise the craft. Till then, equipment supplied was lying idle in several schools. Such was the haste with which Government introduced the craft! It looked more like giving employment to the manufacturers of charkas and other equipment than an educational project. Basic Education started with a great blare of trumpets but in actual practice it meant only the addition of the craft (viz. spinning with a takli and weaving with a handloom) to the activities of the school.

4. Reference has already been made to the appointment of three Regional textbook committees for producing Readers in Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada in accordance with the new concept of education in free India. Apart from the general principles on which textbooks should be prepared for use in Primary schools, we were interested in bringing about what is now called emotional integration. Every child in school should know the cultural heritage of his country, and how great men and women from different provinces had contri-

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buted to the greatness of our country. It was not mere patriotism that we wanted to inculcate in the children. We wanted them to know the great civilization and culture of India and the essential unity that underlay the diversity. This was the great task which I had to direct. I used to call the committees together and decide the lines on which they should proceed. The various lessons were planned in those meetings, and it was my responsibility to see that there was a certain measure of agreement about the plan, content and format among the various committees. There were five or six members in each committee and to control all of them in a meeting was a colossal task. Each had his own ideas, and there was very little spirit of accommodation. I was under the impression that Government would be able to produce these books at cheap rates, but some members insisted on the payment of royalty on copyright material such as songs. Then, of course, the members of all committees wanted the same concession. Moreover, the frequent meetings held at the regional centres and at Poona used to cost Government a good deal. If I were asked to do this kind of work again, I would advertise the requirements in leading newspapers and invite prospective writers to prepare such Readers on condition that the best (and perhaps the second best too) book would be purchased outright for a fixed amount of say Rs. 5000. It is easier and cheaper to improve upon such Readers by referring them to well-known literary persons and educationists. I would try such Readers in some schools for a couple of years and ascertain the public feeling about them. Sound suggestions for improvement made by teachers would be carried out. That is how the best books could be got prepared under the scheme of nationalisation in any subject. In Bombay, however, we entrusted the work to a committee under my general guidance. The procedure was slow as well as costly. I had to have a considerable amount of patience in goading the committee on to carry out the work. Anyway, we got the books ready before the commencement of the school year. Every attempt was made to ensure an attractive get-up, with illustrations in tints and coloured plates. By June, 1950, all the four books were made available to school children at low prices. The language Readers should be changed periodically, but the main defect of nationalisation of the book-trade is that there is a tendency on the part of the Department to continue to use the books once produced by it as long as possible. My idea was to get them changed after every five years. I have no idea what happened after my retirement. The textbooks could be easily produced by Government at least up to std. VII in all subjects; but it entails a lot of trouble including the setting up of a competent machinery to keep the

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books revised and brought up to date. The best arrangement would be to select the first three books in order of merit in any subject and that is what I did in respect of the textbooks for the Upper Primary classes. The first book was allotted half of the area of the region, the second one 1/3rd of the area and the third one 1/6th of the area. This kept up the spirit of competition. The only snag in this was that the interested party might approach the reviewers of the textbooks, so the names of the reviewers were kept strictly confidential. I even took care to see that these names were kept in my confidential box till the last minute. A copy of these names was kept with the Secretary to Government also in a sealed envelope, for ready reference, but he was requested not to pass it on to the office in any circumstances. This, I believe, worked well and we heard no complaints even from the disappointed publishers largely because Government did not bother to interfere on behalf of one publisher or the other.

5. The expenditure on education and particularly, on Primary education was rapidly increasing from year to year and I was naturally held responsible for the wise utilisation of the funds. On the one hand, inefficiency, intrigues and corruption had to be ruthlessly eradicated and, on the other, every teacher or officer under the Department was expected to carry out his duties intelligently and in a spirit of service. The distinction between classes and masses had to be abolished, as also among the castes and creeds. Educational effort had to be directed towards this end. Quite a few of the teachers and Inspecting officers were getting old and had little faith in the mission of the teaching profession. They were marking time for retirement and lacked vigour and enthusiasm. Most of them had been appointed in the old days and were mostly lacking in a national spirit. I wanted to introduce new blood, particularly in the inspecting staff, who were to see that there was adequate return for the money spent. I, therefore, got about a hundred additional posts of Asst. Deputy Educational Inspectors sanctioned with permission to fill them by direct recruitment of candidates between the ages of thirty to thirtyfive. The posts had the same old scale of pay attached, viz. Rs. 70-200 with a selection grade of Rs. 200-300; but many well-qualified and enthusiastic teachers of private Secondary schools with about five or ten years' service could be attracted to the posts of inspecting officers if we paid them advance increments taking into consideration their service in private schools. So I advertised about a hunderd posts for the three linguistic areas and the response was more than satisfactory. Emphasis was laid on good general education (i.e. B. A. or B. Sc. Hons. or M. A.) in addition to professional qualifications and not less than five year's teaching experi-

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ence. The candidates we were able to recruit as Inspecting officers in the subordinate service were young, vigorous and well-qualified. Although they were given more or less the same pay that they were drawing in private Secondary schools, there was the attraction of pension and touring allowance. We were able to recruit quite a few smart young men. Detailed instructions were issued to all the Inspecting Officers what to do and what *not* to do. For instance, they should never involve themselves in village politics or tolerate a communal spirit anywhere. For encouraging community life, for bringing children into schools, for introducing a craft, for encouraging cleanliness of class rooms and for participation in national and seasonal festivals in villages, the officers were to have knowledge of and sympathy with village customs and social life. The new Inspecting Officers were drawn from all communities, so that the villagers might feel that the Government officers were their own people. This recruitment was so successful that Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary to Government suggested that we might follow the same procedure for the higher posts in the administrative cadre.

These measures were taken with a view to building up a strong reserve of highly qualified and experienced officers in the administrative branch. The office was instructed by me to revise all the departmental publications to serve as sort of guides to the young officers. The directory of the Bombay Educational Department, the Educational Manual, the Expenditure Code, the Primary Education Rules, which were all hopelessly out of date, were all revised within two years. The Annual reports were, in the past, not written in time and I took care to see that they were published within six months of the end of the financial year. In 1947 and 1948, I cleared off all the arrears of the previous years in so far as the Annual Reports of the Departments were concerned. Such reports lose their usefulness if they are not published in time. The first report covering the events of my regime for the years 1947-48 and 1948-49 was published in December, 1949. It was well illustrated not only with graphs and pictures but also with some paintings by school children. It had an attractive get-up and the paper used was of a high quality. In the meantime, Shri Kher, our education Minister, was laid up with a heart attack and was under medical treatment for months in a nursing home. We were all very sorry about it; but we could do nothing except continue to put in good work in the Department. When he was discharged from the nursing home and came to stay in his usual bungalow in Poona, I was anxious to call on him with the permission of his doctor—Dr. Coyajee. Shri Kher was still bed-ridden and I approached him

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hesitatingly. All I wanted was to give him a copy of this report of our activities for the last two years and wish him complete recovery from his illness. It was in March, 1950. I still remember the joy that radiated from his face on looking into the report. He would have liked to talk with me on several topics in the report, but I tactfully withdrew after the two minutes which were given me by the doctor, after wishing him a quick recovery. I realised to my great sorrow that Shri Kher would never be the same man that he had been before the illness. That was doubtless a great blow to the Bombay State!

IV. Secondary Education.

In the field of Secondary education, the most unpopular decision taken by Government was the abolition of English at the Middle school stage (i.e. Stds. V, VI and VII) i.e. in the first three standards of Secondary school of those days. I was most unhappy about this, as it was treated more as a political than as an educational question. As in the matter of Basic education, Shri Kher was in two minds. In his heart of hearts, I believe, he was not in favour of abolishing English from the middle school stage. At the most, what he would have done was to give English the same place as was given to the other school subjects, instead of giving it a lion's share in the time-table. In the past, English had dominated the entire field of Secondary education and had been gvien almost two periods a day in the school timetable. Instead, I suggested that we should be satisfied with one period a day for English. Many educationists held the same view. Both Shri D. S. Joshi and myself openly opposed the abolition of English in the meetings of the Education Council which Government used to consult on every question of educational policy. However, the main support for doing away with English came from Gujarat, specially from the group led by Shri Maganbhai Desai. In ordinary dealings, Shri Maganbhai is a very pleasant and sociable person, but when educational problems come up for discussion, it is difficult for any one to see eye to eye with him. You can never convince him, nor follow his process of reasoning either. I have had a long experience of him and we have still great respect for each other, but I would rather not discuss any controversial questions with him. Politically, he had a great pull with the Congress people of Gujarat as he had been actively associated with Mahatma Gandhi. His will prevailed in the end, and Shri Kher bowed to the group of Gujarat M. L. As. Ignoring such public opinion as declared itself against this measure, Shri Kher finally

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decided to abolish English in the first three standards of Secondary school. Once the decision was taken, we, as loyal officers, had to defend the Government position. The controversy was over as far as I was concerned. In Bombay State, a Secondary school ran parallel to the Primary school for three years, left it behind and led to the matriculation examination. The only difference between the Upper Primary and the Lower Secondary course in the old Bombay State was that English was taught in the latter, but not in the former. Although more attention was paid to the regional language and mathematics in the Upper Primary classes than in the Secondary schools, in all other respects the standard of education was about the same. The abolition of English was defended on the ground of equality of opportunity in the field of education for all children, urban or rural. The Bombay tradition was that Secondary education was meant for the classes and Primary education for the masses. When such arguments were advanced, the town people naturally said that Government could provide instruction in English in the Upper Primary classes as well. In any case, people were hardly reconciled to the national policy as advanced by *Wardha* of providing Basic Education without English for *all* children between seven and fourteen, for intelligent and cooperative citizenship. Many Secondary schools then decided to give instruction in English after school hours. I objected to this on the ground that it was against the Government policy of not teaching English at the stage. At any rate, such private instruction was not desirable from the point of view of the children, who had already put in five hours' work in the school. I knew it was no part of my duty to worry about what the Secondary schools did before or after school hours. I only thought I must support the Government policy and accordingly, I issued a circular to all schools asking them not to teach English in the school after or before the regular school hours. This was naturally reesnted by the schools and some headmasters of Poona and Bombay complained to the Minister against the circular. Shri Kher, too, thought the circular was wrong, forgetting for the moment the considerations which had weighed with him in ordering the abolition of English in the Middle school stage. The matter somehow came up before the Education Council. I gave my reasons, but Shri Kher was apparently not satisfied and said, "Shri Pavate is wrong in ordering the schools not to teach English privately." One of the members of the Council, Shri D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Political Science, Poona, was upset by this remark and immediately replied, "Well, Pavate is quite right in issuing the circular, for he does not want his schools to prostitute education like this." Although Shri Kher was a scholar in his own

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right, he always avoided crossing swords with Shri Gadgil, who would always get the better of him. Since he was not a Government servant he was free to express his opinions as strongly as he pleased. And that he always did. Wincing at Shri Gadgil's remark, Shri Kher simply said, "Yes, there is something in it," and quietly turned to the next item on the agenda! Shri Kher knew that Shri Gadgil was in favour of retaining English as a part of the curriculum and that it was no use arguing with him on the subject. Public opinion in favour of English became more and more vocal and pressure was brought to bear on Shri Kher to reconsider the question. One day in 1948, Shri D. S. Joshi, myself, Shri Saiyidain and the Parliamentary Secretary, Smt. Indumati Seth, were discussing some problems with Shri Kher. The question of English at the Lower Secondary school stage came up again for discussion. Shri Joshi and myself agreed that it should be reintroduced, as knowledge of English was necessary for higher education. Shrimati Indumati Seth was against it by conviction, and there was no question of her changing her mind. Now, Shri Saiyaidain had been in Bombay State already for a year and realised the difficulties created by the abolition of English. So he also said, "Yes, it is desirable to revert to the old position in view of the enormous difficulties experienced by the people in the transitional stage." This annoyed Shri Kher. He roared, "Well, even you have changed your mind! You were the only officer to advise me to abolish English." This was not quite fair to Saiyidain. He was new to the province when he had agreed to the Government proposal purely on educational principle; but now, with more than a year's experience, he was bound to have a better knowledge of the problem facing the province, so as to revise his earlier views. It was, in fact, clear that Shri Kher had nobody except our Gujarati friends to support his policy regarding English, and that worried him more than anything else. The upshot of all this was that English was retained in Std. VII and discontinued, as already decided, in Stds. V and VI. This was a partial victory for the advocates of the retention of English in the middle school stage. Even so, the people as a whole except for a few Gujarati politicians, were dissatisfied, with the Government policy. There was smouldering discontent, but no regular fire yet.

Matters came to a head when Shri Kher retired from politics in 1951 and a new Government was formed by Shri Morarjibhai Desai with Shri Dinkarrao Desai as Minister for Education. The latter was a brilliant lawyer from Broach with a strong will and determination. He was an ardent Congressman and a close follower of Mahatma Gandhi, but he did not see eye to eye with other Congressmen of

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Gujarat on the question of English. He regarded English as essential for the full development of a man's personality at present and was strongly inclined to retain it in Stds. V and VI of Secondary school as well. He was a man of constructive ability. The present Aarey Milk Colony which supplies milk to about 50% of Bombay's population, was the product of his initiative and drive. It happened that we had known each other for many years before he became Minister of Education and he had a high regard for me. We all explained to him the need for tactfully reopening the question of English and he took it up in right earnest. He tried to create public opinion in favour of retaining English; but it was already there so far as educationists were concerned. There was no serious opposition to English from the leaders of Maharashtra and Karnatak. The only problem was whether he would succeed in inducing his Gujarati friends and particularly his chief, Shri Morarjibhai. He failed utterly, as expected. At some stage, I had cautioned him to go slow and not press for the restoration of English with all the force at his command. Somehow he had thought he would succeed. The Gujarat M. L. As. under the leadership of Shri Maganbhai Desai, viewed with great disfavour the activities of the Education Minister in regard to English and brought pressure to bear on Shri Morarjibhai, to re-define Government's policy in this regard. They also said, "If the Minister of education follows a policy which runs counter to Government policy, he must resign his ministership." They were probably within their rights and constitutionally correct. The net result was that Government reiterated its policy of abolishing English in Stds. V-VII and Shri Dinkarrao Desai had to accept it if he wanted to retain his place in the Cabinet. He chose to remain and the result was that English was abolished even in Std. VII. The position, therefore, worsened so far as English was concerned and this had a most deleterious effect on the education of our young men and women in the old Bombay State. One consequence of this policy has been the tremendous rise in the popularity of the English-teaching and Anglo-Indian schools, where English is treated as the children's mother-tongue. The distinction between classes and masses, which our popular Government wanted to avoid, not only remained but became accentuated, as rich people could afford to send their children to schools where English was used as a medium of instruction.

Another major change that took place in the field of Secondary education was the replacement of the University Matriculation examination by the Secondary School Certificate examination. As a result of my long association with Bombay University, I had realised

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that the dual control by the University and the Department over Secondary education was not in the public interest. The University used to admit candidates to its Matriculation examination only from schools recognised either by the Department or by itself. In case the Department refused to recognise a school for good and sufficient reasons, the school concerned would apply for recognition to the University and very often get it. This set up an undesirable competition between the University and the Department. Apart from this, we did not want to encourage everybody to go to the University irrespective of his capacity to benefit from higher education. Moreover, Government had started a number of Secondary schools with a vocational bias, which, in addition to good general education, provided some training in one of the vocational subjects, like Agriculture, Commerce, Technology. In fact, the Bombay Government had encouraged some poineering work in this kind of Secondary school with a technical bias. In my view, Secondary education should not be considered as a preliminary to University education, but as a stage complete in itself. Even before I became D. P. I., I had given careful thought to the desirability of introducing a Bill providing for the institution of an autonomous body with representatives of the University, the schools and the Departments for conducting the Secondary School Leaving Examination, which would serve the ends of public service as well as lead up to the University. The intention was that the University should lay down its requirements under the scheme, both in respect of the subjects to be taken and the percentage of marks to be obtained for entrance to the University. Accordingly within two months of my assuming the position of D. P. I., I drafted a Bill providing for the institution of a Secondary School Board, and submitted it to the Government. Government, however, was not in a hurry as there were many items of legislation claiming priority, but did pass it evenutally after about a year. The first examination according to the new scheme was held in March, 1949.

As might be expected, the Bombay University was strongly opposed to the Bill. I was about the only one in the Bombay University Senate to support it. The University was likely to lose a big chunk of its receipts under the new scheme. The proposed Board would also deprive the University of a number of privileges enjoyed by it in connection with Secondary schools since Lord Curzon's time. I suggested that the financial loss suffered by the University could be made good by charging a matriculation (or entrance) fee to students entering the university after passing the Secondary school examination. This was indeed done, and the Bombay University could have no

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complaint against Government on that score. The University was cut up largely because its control over Secondary schools had ceased. Sir Vithal Chandavarkar used to challenge openly, "Let us see whether Government can conduct the examination as efficiently as we."

In a previous chapter I have already referred to the discontent among the I. E. S. officers of the Department for not being considered for appointment to the post of D. P. I. The most senior of them was Shri G. R. Paranjpe, Principal of the (Royal) Institute of Science, Bombay. He happened also to be a friend of the Chief Minister, Shri Kher. Although he had since superannuated, Government thought that his appointment as the first Chairman of the Secondary School Board would serve at least two purposes. One was the recognition of members of the collegiate branch for such administrative work as conducting a public examination, and the second was that Shri Paranjpe, with his long experience of organising and conducting University examinations, would make an ideal Chairman of a Board. He was known for his vigour, initiative and drive. A Superintendent in my office, Shri N. D. Abhyankar, was appointed Secretary of the Board. We all thought that these two experienced officers would be able to manage the Board's affairs without any blemish. Within six months, however, we began to hear complaints against the Board's maladministration. Since the Board was created largely on my initiative, I was personally interested in making the Board a success. Shri Paranjpe used to consult me on occasion and I gave him all the cooperation and assistance necessary for the efficient discharge of his responsibilities. The first examination was to be held in March, and a few days earlier there was a general complaint that most of the question papers had leaked out. I did not know this; or I would have asked Shri Paranjpe to cancel the whole examination at once. If he had asked for my opinion regarding the press at which the question-papers should be printed, I would have advised him to get it done in some other State, far away from Bombay and Poona, for I had bitter experience of getting question-papers of Primary school and the Training college examinations printed in a Government Press. Somebody in the confidential section of the press would take out a few copies of the printed papers and sell them in Bombay, Poona, Thana and Colaba districts. This malpractice was at first confined to a small area, but in two or three years, it spread like wildfire. When I realised that the warnings given to the Government Press had no effect at all, I arranged to get them printed in a private press, far off outside Bombay State.

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Nobody knew the name of the press except myself. This worked well and it saved the reputation of the Department. The Chairman should have consulted his Board or me before entrusting such highly confidential work to the Government Press attached to the Mental Hospital in Poona. Shri Paranjpe handled the business on his own, or perhaps in consultation with Shri Abhyankar. The result was leakage of question-papers on a wide scale! A few members of the Bombay University Syndicate were jubilant over this mismanagement of an examination which had been wrested from the University by Government. Actually, the day before the examination, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, a prominent member of the Syndicate, dictated to the Secretary to Government in the Education Department, on the phone, the entire English paper to be set the next day. This brought disgrace not only to the Secondary Board but to Government. Shri Kher demanded the resignation of Shri Paranjpe and Shri Abhyankar immediately after the declaration of the results. They had to retire. Thus, the first chapter proved one of the most inglorious in the history of the Secondary School Board in Bombay State.

Pending the appointment of another Chairman, I held the post for about eight months in addition to my normal duties. During this period, I managed to get the syllabus re-cast to suit the requirements of the Secondary schools, as, to start with, the Board had taken over the syllabus prescribed for the matriculation examination by the Bombay University. Meantime, Shri S. Nurullah, Jt. D. P. I. was appointed Chairman of the Board and conducted the examination so efficiently that there was no room for any criticism from the public thereafter. He introduced several reforms in the conduct of examination, appointment of examiners and supply of marks. The University also has been gradually reconciled to the change.

Government High Schools, which had been intended to be model schools, had been either closed down or converted into Technical or Agricultural Secondary schools. Some of them were turned into Girls' High Schools or Primary training institutions. So far as liberal education was concerned, the State depended entirely on private enterprise. It was urgently necessary to improve the financial position of each Secondary school. Those which were well endowed or charged high fees were few and far between. Most of the Secondary schools catered for children of middle-class people who could not afford to pay high rates of fees. Moreover, to attract the right type of persons to the teaching profession, it was necessary to pay them adequately. We had, therefore, to take two steps, immediately, to improve the position of Secondary school education—one was to guarantee the

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grant-in-aid, at the rates due to them under the grant-in-aid code, to all schools; the other was to offer fairly attractive salary scales to the teachers. Government appointed a committee consisting of Messrs V. D. Ghate and R. V. Parulekar to examine and report on this question. On their recommendation, Government allowed the managements to increase the rates of fees within certain limits (viz. Rs. 3 to 6 per month in rural areas and Rs. 4 to 8 in urban areas) and undertook to increase the grants to 30% and 33⅓% of the approved expenditure in municipal and rural areas respectively. The Ghate-Parulekar committee also recommended a sensible salary scale of Rs. 80-200 for trained Government teachers. The Committee also recommended for Headmasters either special scales or special duty allowance according to the size and importance of the school. Thus the private schools, sadly neglected in the past, had become the mainstay of Secondary education in the State, with more or less the same service conditions as those obtaining in Government institutions. Government High Schools (and a few private ones too) took up the role of experimental schools, trying out new ideas, in the same way as senior, central or comprehensive schools did in England and America.

In 1952, the Government of India appointed a commission to examine the prevailing system of Secondary education in the whole country and to suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement. This commission is known as the Mudaliar Commission after its distinguished Chairman Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. The D. P. I. or the Director of Education of each State was a coopted member during the Commission's tour in his State. The Commission submitted its report in 1953. There had been several reports of committees or commissions in the past, which had examined the problem of Secondary education, the more recent one being the Sargent Report of 1944. If one more was necessary, this Commission should have preceded the University Commission appointed in 1948 under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. As it is, the Mudaliar Commission's report has, perhaps, affected University education more than Secondary education. Practically no action has been taken on the Radhakrishnan Commission's report on University education.

I was required to submit my recommendations to the Bombay Government on the suggestions made by the Secondary Education Commission. Broadly speaking, the Commission's report, apart from stating clearly the aims of Secondary education, contained some valuable suggestions for its improvement. The reorganisation of

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Secondary education recommended by the Commission is, however, a controversial matter and, on the whole, has done more harm than good. The main recommendations of the Commission in this connection are:—

1. Under the new organisational structure, Secondary education should begin after a four or five year period of Primary or Junior Basic education and should include the Middle or Junior Basic or Junior Secondary stage of three years and the Higher Secondary stage of four years.

2. One year of the then existing Intermediate stage should be included in the Higher Secondary stage referred to above.

3. As a consequence of the preceding recommendation, the first degree course in the University should be of three years' duration.

The new structural pattern recommended was the same as the one existing in the then Bombay State. The only difference was the inclusion of one year of the Intermediate stage in the so-called Higher Secondary stage. In Bombay, we had four years' Primary, three years' Upper Primary or Lower Secondary and four years' Secondary. What the Commission wanted was to push down the first year college course into Secondary school without necessarily increasing the duration of the latter. I strongly opposed this move. As it was, the standard of our Secondary education was by no stretch of imagination as high as it should be and the percentage of failure was tragically high. Now, to complete five years' work in four years and that with the numbers increasing as a result of compulsory Primary education, was fantastic. If anything was required, it was to reduce the content of Secondary education and not to raise it by adding one year's college course. Perhaps, the Commission thought that with the introduction of the regional language as medium of instrution, it might not be so difficult to transfer the first year of college to Secondary school. They seemed to have lost sight of the fact that the number of pupils in the Secondary schools was increasing at an astounding rate and with those assorted pupils it would be difficult to maintain even the existing standards. For these reasons, the Bombay Government did not accept the new structural pattern at all.

The Commission also recommended that English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage, subject to the principle that no two additional languages should be introduced in the same year. At the High and Higher Secondary stage, at least two languages should be studied, one of them being the mother-tongue or the regional language. In this respect, the Commission was perhaps influenced by the conditions prevailing in Madras State. In Bombay,

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we had already introduced Hindi in Middle school as a compulsory subject and English in the High school stage. The recommendation of the Commission, therefore, suited Bombay all right; but it was necessary to introduce English in Middle school in lieu of Hindi, and Hindi in lieu of a classical language like Sanskrit in High school.

Another recommendation of the Commission was the establishment of Multi-purpose schools to provide varied courses to meet the diverse aims, aptitudes and abilities of pupils. Those who successfully completed such courses should be given opportunities to take up higher specialised courses in polytechnics or technological institutions. The Bombay Government had already started High schools with a technical, agricultural and commercial bias, on the recommendation of the Abbot-Wood Report of 1936-37 and there were many other independent technical and industrial schools. There was no difficulty, therefore, for the Bombay Government supporting this proposal of Multi-purpose schools.

Another important recommendation made by the Secondary Education Commission was in respect of improving the quality of textbooks used in Secondary schools. According to the Commission, a high-power textbook committee should be constituted, consisting of a high dignitary of the judiciary of the State, perferably a High Court Judge, a member of the Public Service Commission of the region concerned, a Vice-Chancellor of the same region, a Headmaster or Headmistress in the State, two distinguished educationists and the Director of Education. This committee should function as an independent body. This perhaps was one of the Commission's best recommendations. The Commissson observed that they were greatly dissatisfied with the present standard of school books. They were of the view that the textbook committee should approve a number of suitable books in each subject and leave the choice to the institution concerned. Only in the case of languages was it necessary to prescribe definite textbooks for each class.

Everybody admits that the commercial spirit prevailing in the school book trade has adversely affected proper selection. The main reason for this unsatisfactory position is the racketeering that has been going on in the trade since the attainment of independence. We have, in our country, plenty of well qualified, sincere and competent teachers who can write and revise books for use in schools. The difficulty is in their selection. The best books do not somehow come to the notice of the authorities. Nor are the reviewers allowed to do their job scrupulously without pressure from somebody or other. Hence the Commission thought fit to appoint high dignitaries on the textbook

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committee. Immediately Government's intention was made known about the appointment of two distinguished educationists and a headmaster or headmistress, several people satisfying these qualifications, would volunteer their services and the Education Minister would find it difficult to choose the right person. Every one of such volunteers is, of course, in the absence of an objective test, a distinguished educationist. As a desperate measure, the question of nationalisation of textbooks has been taken up by some States. Even then, the selection of writers of school books bristles with difficulties and, somehow, Government seem to have the knack of selecting mediocre or otherwise unsuitable persons, with the result that public complaints regarding the non-availability of decent textbooks persists. On the whole, there is much to be said in favour of the Commission's recommendation in this respect; but the difficulty is in inducing a High Court Judge and other dignitaries to accept such an assignment. The Bombay Government, however, took no action on this suggestion, as, indeed, no other State has.

V. Higher Education.

The most urgent need of the Government colleges was to staff them with devoted and efficient teachers. Somehow, an impression had gained ground that all a college teacher was expected to do was to run through his schedule of lectures and dedicate the rest of his time to other pursuits. Some of the senior Professors in the (Royal) Institute of Science, Bombay, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad and Karnatak College, Dharwar, were men of outstanding ability and yet had never been required by the authorities to do research and keep themselves abreast of modern developments. Some research was being done in the (Royal) Institute of Science. In fact, its Principal, Dr. Mata Prasad, insisted on everyone carrying on some research, and was naturally unpopular on that account. There was politics of a kind in every college and all that the teachers were anxious about was to stay put in the same place and get promotion in due course on the basis of seniority. This had a deleterious effect on the morale of the teaching staff. I also felt they were poorly paid. The I. E. S. scale of Rs. 400-1750 had been reduced first to Rs. 320-1500 and then further reduced to Rs. 300-1100. This last was not a scale to attract the best men. Moreover, there was no arrangement under which work could be periodically assessed by a competent body of experts. Immediately on my taking over, I began to think of ways by which the tone of

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Government colleges could be improved. To begin with, I backed up Dr. Mata Prasad in his insistence on all teachers in his institute carrying on research work. In fact, I made it clear to them that no promotion would be available on the strength of seniority alone. Secondly, I made a proposal to Government to make appointments of Professors on a contract basis, renewable every five years, and that the grade of Professor be changed from Rs. 300-1100 to Rs. 600-1100. I pointed out to Government that young men of great promise would not care for a Professor's post on Rs. 300 p.m. and that the starting pay of a Professor should not, in any circumstances, be less than Rs. 600. I also drew Government's attention to the depreciation of the rupee since the Rs. 300-1100 scale had been introduced. Thirdly, I made it clear to all Principals that they should put down politics in their colleges ruthlessly, and give every possible encouragement to dedicated teachers. Such changes, however, cannot be brought about merely by issuing circulars. They have to be acted upon, and some two or three colleges did realise that I meant business. Government accepted my suggestion of advertising all Professors' posts with the minimum initial salary of Rs. 600 p.m. on a contract basis. Seniority-cum-merit now became the consideration in all promotions instead of mere seniority. All this had a good effect and I noticed that persons who had not for years seemed interested in research any more, became suddenly active and produced papers in learned journals.

Shri Kher was determined to leave his mark on every branch of education in Bombay State. Since 1924, an agitation had been going on for the establishment of regional universities in the State. In particular, a separate University for Maharashtra was engaging the attention of Government and the public for several years. In 1942, Government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar to examine the possibilities of a University in Maharashtra. The Committee submitted its report in 1943, but nothing could be done to further the scheme of a separate University for Maharashtra during the War. In 1947, the Kher Government introduced a Bill for the establishment of a University in Poona with jurisdiction over all the then existing districts of Maharashtra except Bombay and its suburbs. The Maharashtra University Bill was passed in 1948 and a committee was appointed to consider the establishment of similar universities for Gujarat and Karnatak, under the chairmanship of Justice H. V. Divatia and Justice N. S. Lokur respectively. Their work was quickly completed, and the Gujarat and Karnatak University Bills were introduced also in 1948. Practically all the three Universities came into existence about the same time, although Poona

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University held its first examinations in March 1949 and the other two regional Universities held theirs in March 1950. The main feature of these Universities is that they are both teaching and affiliating Universities, the postgraduate work being concentrated at headquarters. Shri Kher was a very conscientious man and did not want to be unduly partial to any University in respect of grants and other advantages.

Now, under the Act of each of these Universities, the first Vice-Chancellor was to be appointed by Government for a period of two years. It was understood that the Chairman of the committee for any University should be its first Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Jayakar was a popular man in Maharashtra, known for his high culture, as well as for his great public services in various fields including law, education and politics. Shri Kher had once been a personal assistant of Dr. Jayakar's and was greatly attached to him. Nobody could possibly have demurred to his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University. Shri Kher, however, wanted to satisfy his conscience; so he must ask some of us for alternative names, if any for the post. Shri D. S. Joshi, Secretary to Government in the Education Department, Miss. Indumati Seth, Parliamentary Secretary and I happened to be discussing some departmental problems with Shri Kher when he suddenly broached this subject. "I have to appoint a Vice-Chancellor for the Poona University," he said, "and I am thinking of Dr. Jayakar. If you can think of a better person, please let me know." This was typical of Shri Kher when he was bent on doing something. Then he turned to Miss. Indumati Seth and said, "Have you any Gujarati in view?" When she said no, he turned to me and said, "Have you any Karnatak man for the post?" It is not easy to suggest a man for the post of Vice-Chancellor at any time. I did not know Dr. Jayakar then, but, since the Chief Minister was asking me, I ventured my opinion. I said, "I have nobody to suggest from the Karnatak; but I feel that Dr. R. P. Paranjpe might be a better choice, though I know Dr. Jayakar to be a distinguished lawyer and statesman. Dr. Paranjpe has also been in public life for several years and he is a great educationist as well." Shri Kher had already made up his mind about Dr. Jayakar. So this naturally upset him, specially as he had taken it for granted that none of us would dare to speak against such a simple proposition. This also seems to have disturbed a firm pattern in his mind; for he made the caustic remark, "What! you would prefer a Brahmin to a non-Brahmin?" This hurt me so much that I retorted, "Well, Sir, there are good and bad people in every community. I have never said anywhere—nor do I honestly believe—that every Brahmin

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is a bad man. There are good Brahmins and bad Brahmins and Dr. Paranjpe is one of the best men I have ever come in contact with. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University for some years and Principal of Fergusson College for twenty years. Naturally, I have a partiality for educationists. I do not look at an appointment from the communal point of view. The sole consideration is whether one will make a good executive officer in an important position like a Vice-Chancellorship." I am sure that Shri Kher did not like the turn the conversation was taking; so he thought it best to put a closure to the discussion. Shri Joshi, Secretary, was naturally surprised at my imprudence. Shri Kher did not forget this incident, for, long afterwards, he would ask me whenever we met, "Pavate, was Dr. Paranjpe your teacher?" and I had to reply to him more than once, "No, he was not." The Rt. Hon. Dr. Jayakar was duly appointed Vice-Chancellor of Poona University.

There was no difficulty in finding a Vice-Chancellor for Gujarat University. Justice Divatia, who had been Chairman of the Gujarat University Committee, agreed to be Vice-Chancellor of the new University. A difficulty arose, however, in connection with the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor for Karnatak University. All these posts were honorary. Dr. Jayakar would take no salary, as he was well-off, and Justice Divatia, following Dr. Jayakar, wouldn't take any salary either. Justice Lokur was expected to fall in line with these two and to agree to be Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University in a purely honorary capacity. In the meantime, he had obtained another appointment and therefore, showed no inclination to be Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University, although the post then carried a salary of Rs. 2000 p. m. and the problem of finding another person arose. Shri Kher first offered it to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, of Delhi University. He was a Kannada man, a distinguished economist and was in favour with Shri Kher, but when the offer was actually made to him, he declined the appointment and Shri Kher was again at his wits' end. Then the offer was made to me; but I told the Education Secretary that I had no intention of becoming Vice-Chancellor of any university until I had put in at least five years as D. P. I. Then Shri R. A. Jahagirdar, who had been a Judge of the Bombay High Court for a short while and was then practising as a lawyer in Bombay, was offered the post. He ,too, was not willing at first, but Shri Kher persuaded him to accept it. None of these distinguished lawyers showed any great vitality or imagination in building up his new University except perhaps Dr. Jayakar. Shri Jahagirdar refused to continue as Vice-

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Chancellor of Karnatak University after two years. After Dr. Jayakar actually took over as Vice-Chancellor of Poona University, I came in close contact with him and I must say he was a man of great idealism. He literally lived for the University at that advanced stage of his life. He had a vision of planting Oxford at Ganeshkhind, the place occupied by the former Governors of Bombay Presidency during the wet season and now the headquarters of the University. Dr. Jayakar was interested in providing sound undergraduate instruction on the model of Oxford and Cambridge. For achieving this, the University was to control the entire undergraduate education beyond the Intermediate stage in the Poona area. All post-graduate instruction and research were to be carried out by the teachers of the University. Ordinarily, this would be a sound move ; but in Poona, the three famous colleges were great institutions, one of them with a tradition and high reputation of more than fifty years. Under Dr. Jayakar's scheme, these colleges would be reduced to the status of Intermediate Colleges, as their B. A. and B. Sc. students could attend lectures at any college of their choice, according to the arrangements made by the University. The distance between one college and another was enormous. For instance, the Wadia College was at a distance of more than three miles from either of the other colleges. Dr. Jayakar's scheme, therefore, was not a practical proposition, although the intention was educationally sound. The three colleges viewed this measure with great disfavour and a controversy developed. Dr. Jayakar was a man of high stature and, having regard to his good intentions towards the University and his willingness to serve the University without salary, the members of the Senate at first hesitated to oppose his move ; but later they came out into the open to torpedo it. The Senate and Syndicate members from all the three colleges opposed Dr. Jayakar and this even led to litigation of some kind. At this stage, H. E. the Governor of the Bombay State, Sir Maharaj Singh, sent for me at Government House to ask for my opinion. I said, "Your Excellency, I am not competent to express an opinion whether Dr. Jayakar is legally correct or not. He is himself an outstanding lawyer and must know what he is doing, but I personally think that he is wrong in trying to suppress these old colleges with great traditions, by organising inter-collegiate lectures. Besides, the students will be frightfully inconvenienced. Your Excellency might throw a hint to Dr. Jayakar to go slow and concentrate all his innovatons on postgraduate work which has been sadly neglected in our State. We are almost neighbours and discuss many subjects at length, but unless he asks for my advice on any particular

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issue, I do not go out of my way to express my opinion on it." I do not know how it exactly happened ; but the University was compelled to give up the scheme of inter-collegiate lectures for undergraduate classes. As an ex-officio member of the Executive Council, I used to attend its meetings occasionally and I noticed that feelings were running high between some members of the Executive Council and the Vice-Chancellor. Similarly, I attended meetings of the Syndicate of Bombay, S. N. D. T. and Karnatak Universities, but I only sent my deputy to Gujarat University. The only role I played in those meetings was to smooth out the relations between Government and the Universities.

The merger of a large number of "Native" States in Bombay State during the year 1948-49 brought in a number of problems of administration. With the merger of the Deccan and Gujarat 'States', the Department of Education had to shoulder more reponsibilities and in fact became a little unwieldy ; but the Department became stronger by the addition of some excellent scholars and experienced officers from these areas. The chief among them were Dr. J. M. Mehta, Prof. V. K. Gokak and Dr. A. G. Pawar. Dr. Mehta was Educational Commissioner of Baroda State and had long experience of teaching and administration. He was appointed Jt. Director in my office and was a great asset to me. Prof. Gokak was Principal of Visnagar College in Baroda State and was a Professor of English with a great reputation. Dr. A. G. Pawar was also a distinguished scholar of History and was Principal of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Professors Gokak and Pawar were also extremely popular as Principals in their colleges. On the merger of Baroda and Kolhapur, we made them exchange their places, as it was not desirable for an officer to remain in the same place for a long time.

One feature of these small States was that such education as was provided in them was practically free. No fees of any kind were charged for Secondary and Higher education and, even if they did charge in some, the rate was very low compared with those prevalent in Bombay State. On the other hand, there were not enough schools and colleges. We introduced our system almost within a year of their merger, from Primary to University education. One of the ticklish problems was to raise the rate of fees charged in the colleges in those areas. They were naturally very low ; but some communities like the Mahrattas were getting free education even at the university stage. The most important of the so-called Native States which merged were the Kathiawar States, Baroda and Kolhapur. The rates of our fees were about three times those charged in these States. I issued

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a circular introducing our rates of fee in those colleges almost overnight and nobody seemed to mind it. I am even now surprised at the smooth way we introduced all these changes in the fee rates without any untoward incident. We hear of strikes by students in many other States for even the slightest increase in the rate of fees. Mahrattas are numerically the strongest community in Maharashtra, and yet they did not raise an outcry at being deprived of all the educational concessions they had been enjoying for many years.

Baroda University, which was started just before the merger, was a well endowed University, and its first Vice-Chancellor Shrimati Hansa Mehta, developed it on sound lines. The Educational commissioner of the old Baroda State, Dr. Jyotindra Mehta, was naturally the person to attend the Syndicate meetings of Baroda University, as a representative of Government to look after its grants, etc. We noticed that the grants fixed by the old Baroda Government were very liberal when compared with those sanctioned by the Bombay Government to the other Universities. This was due to the inclusion of a large number of Government institutions included as constituent colleges in the University, which was to function as a unitary University. There is no doubt at all that the old Baroda Government was wise in starting this unitary university. Universities of this kind can easily maintain a high standard of education. They do not have to worry about carrying the several affiliated colleges with them.

VI. Physical Education and N. C. C.

There was no branch of education which escaped Shri Kher's notice. Even during his short regime, 1937-39, he was anxious to make a beginning in putting physical education on a sound basis. He was not satisfied with mere games and athletics, useful though they were in developing character. What he wanted was real education of the body. He would always praise persons with bright wide eyes, and a bold upright carriage. He insisted on the harmonious development of body, mind and character. In fact, we were somewhat surprised at his enthusiasm for a sound physical education. In the past, the Bombay Government had from time to time considered the question of physical education, but it was confined to a few jerks and things like this. Indeed, some schools and colleges encouraged Indian gymnastics and *Surya-namaskars*. Games too were popular in big towns; but Government did not hold that physical education was quite as much its concern as the mental. Fortunately, to help Shri Kher, there

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were a few persons who were tremendously interested in this kind of education in all its aspects. Of them, the one most anxious to spread physical education in Bombay State, was Swami Kuvalayananda (Shri Gune). He almost lived for physical education. He strongly advocated that we should give to the education of the body the same active and positive content that we give to the education of the mind. He was of the view that all parts of the body should get a certain amount of healthy exercise every day and that this was possible only through *yogic exercises*. Actually he has been running a well-known institution "Kaivalya-Dham", near Charni Road in Bombay, for years. In it, he gives training in these exercises, both as a preventive and a curative measure against certain diseases, while carrying out research in that field by scientific methods. I was so much impressed by these exercises, that I learnt some of them at 'Kaivalya-Dham' in 1938. I have been regularly practising them ever since and have derived much benefit from the 'Asanas'. In fact, I found that some of these 'Asanas' or exercises, are those which have been prescribed by the Department of Education in England.

Now Swami Kuvalayananda was the spearhead of the new movement for vigorous physical education in our schools. A training institute for physical education was established at Kandivli (a suburb of Bombay) for the training of teachers. In fact, all able-bodied Secondary teachers of Government schools were compelled to undergo this training for a year, just as they were required to take the B. T. (or B. Ed.) degree before they were confirmed. Even in private schools, the teachers were encouraged to have this training for a year, but those who were not young enough for such vigorous exercises, were made to take a short-term course. In all Secondary schools, physical education was made compulsory, as it was possible to organise these exercises in a small room or a verandah in suitable batches, even in big towns, where it was difficult to obtain suitable playgrounds. The Training Institution for Physical Education, Kandivli, has been a pioneering effort in the field of physical education and has supplied qualified teachers to the Secondary schools and colleges in the State. It has also been able to provide a cadre of trained inspecting officers for physical education. The institute has been able to over-come the old prejudice that physical education was the concern of meagrely educated 'drill masters'. Actually, the institute is largely responsible for giving a new orientation to the concept of physical education. All honour to Swami Kuvalayananda for stimulating physical education in Bombay State and for giving it an honourable place in the school curriculum.

Shri B. G. Kher was equally earnest about N. C. C. The Govern-

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ment of India appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Pandit Kunzru, in 1948, to examine the question of military training for our young men and women on the British model. The Kunzru committee submitted its report in March, 1947, and the N.C.C. Bill was finally passed by Parliament in 1948. Even before that, we had already established Junior divisions of the N. C. C. in Secondary schools, as Shri Kher attached great importance to the training. He was of the view that nobody's education was complete unless he had also sound education of the body or had, as an alternative, undergone N. C. C. training in school and college. That is why Bombay State was the first to introduce N. C. C. and was anxious to provide such military training to all pupils in Secondary schools. The former U. O. T. C. was to be replaced by the Senior division of the N. C. C. which was to consist of three wings—Navy, Army and Air Force. The junior wing of the N. C. C. was intended to build up the character and physique of the cadets, to infuse in them a sense of discipline and to stimulate their interest in the defence of the country. The object of the girls' division was to build up their physique, make them more self-reliant and enable them in an emergency to take upon themselves some of the duties which were normally carried out by men. Apart from route marching, social service, etc. the minimum training of the N. C. C. included rifle-shooting. Shri Kher was so attracted by all this that he asked me to give top priority to the establishment of the N. C. C. on a wide scale throughout the State. Educationally, the N. C. C. was so well-conceived that it did not require any efforts on our part to whip up enthusiasm in schools and colleges. The social service part of the N. C. C. was a notable success in Bombay State. All students, professors and other N. C. C. officers were engaged in constructing roads, giving elementary instruction to the village folk in hygiene and improving their living conditions. Visitors to the N. C. C. camps were struck by the fine spirit and enthusiasm noticed among the cadets. Shri Kher's idea was to make the N. C. C. compulsory for all, the necessity for which was realised only fifteen years later when aggression was committed by China on our country.

The hopes of the Bombay Government to develop the N. C. C. on a broad basis as envisaged by the Kunzru Committee foundered on the rock of financial stringency. The Government of India did not show any anxiety to meet the increasing demand for new units. The Secondary schools in Bombay State were vying with one another in having as many boys and girls trained as possible. When the Government of India were unable to provide funds for the enlargement of N. C. C. units, many schools were disappointed. Subsequently, when Shri Din-

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karrao Desai became Minister of Education, he took the view that, if we couldn't afford to admit all the boys and girls who wanted to join the N. C. C. (jr. division), the best thing would be to abolish it altogether, instead of discriminating among schools and leaving out boys who were physically fit. This led to the formation of A. C. C., which practically meant the revival of the Scout Movement. But although the A. C. C. was doubtless part of good education, it was no substitute for military training. The original objective was thus, mainly for want of funds, gradually watered down. This was a great disappointment to us in Bombay State.

The senior division of the N. C. C. replaced the old U. O. T. C. (University Officers' Training Corps) scheme under which the units were commanded by college teachers with military training. The new N. C. C. units were commanded by Army officers. In fact, the whole scheme is operated by a Directorate in the Ministry of Defence in consultation with the State Governments and the Vice-Chancellors of Universities. This innovation was calculated to improve the efficiency and usefulness of the organisation. In the former set-up, the commanding officer was usually the Principal or a senior Professor of a college, so that he commanded the respect and loyalty not only of the cadets but also of the junior officers. For the new senior division of the N. C. C. we experienced great difficulties in recruiting teachers for training as officers. They did not feel happy serving under an Army officer. The new commanding officer was not highly educated and was often rough with both teacher-officers and cadets. The Army officers needed some time to learn how to get on with college students and teachers. In the beginning, we had to face some ugly incidents, but when the Vice-Chancellor concerned asked the army officer to be tactful and accommodating in handling university men, things improved. One result of this rough behaviour on the part of the army officers is that senior college teachers refuse to be officers in the N. C. C. and it is only with great difficulty that we are able to recruit some junior college teachers for the Officers' training course. We were all unhappy to realise that the N. C. C. was not such an unqualified success as we had expected it to be. The attendance also was not satisfactory. Except for an off-chance of getting a commissioned post in the Defence services, there was little incentive for an N. C. C. cadet. The Public Service Commission, business firms, banks and other appointing agencies hardly give any credit to candidates with N. C. C. training. Before independence, games, college records and military training received, for some reason or other, much greater attention than they have done since. The fact remains that an N. C. C.

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candidate has to take a chance in the employment market along with those who have a better academic career. Hence the natural tendency has been to concentrate on books, rather than on games and corporate activities. Furthermore, the tendency on the part of the academic people in the post-Independence period is to increase the load of academic work for the students on some pretext or other. Some States withdrew the small allowance of 25 paise for senior cadets on route march days, so that the cadets had to march nine or ten miles without nourishment, or get it out of their pockets. Unless this allowance is restored, the N. C. C. movement has little chance of being the great success all educationists desire it to be.

VII. Appointments and Transfers.

As I have stated at the beginning of this chapter, I was appointed D. P. I. pending further orders. Shri Kher, however, was so impressed by my performance that, within two months of my appointment, he left a note that I should be confirmed immediately. The post of D. P. I. was, however, not provincialised and, until the I. E. S. post was abolished, it was not possible to confirm me. The Bombay Government addressed the Government of India on the subject, but it was hardly worth while moving the Secretary of State for India, in view of the imminent grant of independence to our country. So I was confirmed D. P. I. only with effect from 15th August 1947, i.e. after the attainment of independence.

Meantime, I had to face a crisis the like of which I had never known before. One of my cardinal principles of administration was never to encourage the development of politics or party spirit in educational institutions. There were many complaints against the Lady Superintendent of a Training College for women. The main complaint was that the Warden of the hostel and the Lady Superintendent were behaving in an irresponsible manner and were utterly indifferent to the welfare of the resident students. *Prima facie*, it was a case of grave irregularities. Since the lady superintendent was a senior officer in the selection grade of B. E. S. Class II, I did not like to hold a regular enquiry. Ordinarily, a transfer solves the problem in such cases. So I transferred her as Headmistress of a girls' High School in another town. She did not like the transfer and requested the cancellation of orders through several friends of mine. But I did not yield to the pressure. The Warden of the hostel was a young woman and it appears that the Lady Superintendent and the Warden conspired to

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make trouble for me. So the Warden hired a young man from her native place to offer satyagraha before me. This man wrote asking me to cancel the transfer orders failing which he would 'resist' me. I did not quite follow what exactly he meant by the phrase. So I took no notice of him. In due course, he saw me in Poona, and when I told him that he, as an outsider, had no connection whatsoever with the affair and that I could not possibly oblige him, he said, "Then I am afraid I have to resist you." I asked him what exactly he proposed to do. He replied, "I will sit in front of your office and take no food at all. In other words, I'll offer satyagraha by resorting to hunger strike." The words 'satyagraha' and 'hunger strike' were familiar to all Indians at the time, as they were resorted to by Mahatma Gandhi on important political and moral issues. This young man's offer of satyagraha in protest against the transfer of a Lady Superintendent of a Government Training institution would amount to an uncalled for interference in the administration of a Government Department. He had nothing whatever to do with the affair except that the Warden of the hostel belonged to his native place. The latter was a young widow and this again would give rise to all kinds of suspicion. I, therefore, said to him, "What on earth have you got to do with this institution? If you have any complaints, you write to me and, I assure you, I shall have them looked into. You have no business at all to threaten me like this." He replied, "It is a question of women's morals. This Lady Superintendent was very strict and so the students rebelled against her. The authorities should consider both sides before taking action." I agreed that every Lady Superintendent has got to be strict and that no student could have a grievance on that account against her; but I added "Here, it is a case of misappropriation of a part of the students' stipends. I have myself carefully examined the accounts maintained by the Warden and the arrangement made for the supply of food. They leave much to be desired and, to avoid further complications, I have transferred her. I am not going to yield to your blackmail. If you have made up your mind to go on a hunger-strike, do so by all means. All facilities will be given to you, but we can't allow you to lie down in the office over here." The young man was a professional hunger-striker. Only a few days before, he had resorted to this device of coercion in the case of land-assessment in his taluka and the Collector of the district had been forced to accede to his request. Elated by this triumph, he wanted to try his strength on me.

This incident took place in March, 1947, hardly three months after I took over as Director. I was anxious to move warily and to avoid trouble as far as possible; but the idea of a stranger, who had

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not received even full primary education, interfering in my administration was galling to me. So, on the second day of the strike, I called some local leaders of the Congress party and explained the position to them. I asked them whether that young man was justified in resorting to Mahatma Gandhi's weapon of Satyagraha on the routine transfer of a Government servant. I pointed out that, if outsiders threatened officers with a hunger-strike, on an administrative issue, the whole Government machinery would collapse. The Poona Congress leaders were obviously satisfied with my case and made all efforts to induce the young man to give up his fast. He did not heed them. He was really a hard nut to crack. The Government was at the time in Bombay and Shri Kher had gone to Delhi. So I wrote to the Home Minister, Shri Morarjibhai Desai, and to the Secretary to Government, Education Department, explaining all the facts of the case. I also rang up Shri Morarjibhai Desai and asked him whether the line I was intending to take was the correct one. Even if my order of transfer was not fully justified, I was convinced that its cancellation at that stage would demoralise the Department and end by paralysing the administration. Shri Morarjibhai replied that I should not yield in any circumstances. Perhaps Shri Kher would not have given such a categorical reply, immediately and so emphatically. He might have asked me to compromise and satisfy the young man as far as possible. It was my good luck that I had, at this crisis, to deal with Shri Morarjibhai. So, with the backing of Government, I had no intention of negotiating with the man. We got him removed from my office to the garage, where I would chat with him for a few minutes every evening on my way home. After a week or so, the young man had lost 5 or 7 lb. In the third week, I noticed he was losing weight rapidly and might have lost between 10 to 15 lb. Meantime Shri Kher returned to Bombay. On studying the case, he sent a personal letter to the young man requesting him to give up his fast and put forth his grievances in a constitutional manner. Even this letter had no effect. The young man said he would give up his fast only on receipt of the order cancelling the transfer. He was, indeed, a difficult man to deal with.

It is easy to ridicule such fasts when you are far away from the scene ; it is quite another story if a man is sinking visibly in front of you. I had read about Mahatma Gandhi's fasts. It had never been a personal and frightening experience. Now I knew that these fasts ostensibly undertaken for the purification of the soul, could have a harrowing effect on the souls of others. Now, this young man's fast was primarily directed against me and I could see him getting every

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day weaker and weaker. The scene haunted me and I could get no sleep for some nights. I knew the young man had no case whatsoever, and yet here was a person—a foolish person—sinking under my eye and I could not bear the very thought. When my wife noticed me brooding and losing sleep, she asked me why I should not give in and cancel the orders. I told her I would never do that even if I died of this mental torture. Principles are principles and I could not possibly sacrifice them. All the same, I subjected myself to occasional introspection. "Have I done the right thing" ? was the nagging thought, I went over the events leading to the Lady Superintendent's transfer and would satisfy myself that every thing was right. Days passed on—how slow—and even Shri Kher started worrying about this young man. Fortunately, he was in Bombay and had no chance of seeing him. For he was also the emotional type and would have lost his sleep had he seen this foolish hunger-striker from day to day as I did. The young man had lost about 30 lb. weight in as many days. He looked terribly emaciated and his bones stuck out. His voice was feeble and he could hardly speak. When I reported these facts to my Minister, he asked me to take him to the Civil Hospital and have him forcibly fed. I hesitated to do so ; for I was given to understand that such an act would be illegal. What could I do if the Civil Surgeon refused to take him in without a written order from Government? Fortunately the Civil Surgeon was a friend of mine. Even so, why should he do anything for me which was not legally correct ? So I hesitatingly broached the subject to him and said the Chief Minister himself was interested in having this hunger-striker removed to the hospital and forcibly fed. The Civil Surgeon understood. Within a few hours of arriving at the Hospital, the young man was fed milk through his nose. We noticed that he neither resisted nor protested. Perhaps he was too weak to make his protest. Rather, it appeared to me he liked being fed that way. After his first sip, he realised there was no point in continuing the strike. Soon afterwards he told me he would give up his strike if I gave him an assurance in writing that the moral tone of the college and the hostel would be improved. To this I gladly agreed, and this unfortunate episode came to an end. It was a test of strength at the very beginning of my career as Director.

This is not an isolated instance of the trouble I could make for myself by the mere transfer of an officer. A person in my position could easily avoid this by calling for a report from some superior officer and, after a decorous delay, putting it up to Government for suitable action, so that, when all had been forgotten, Government would pass

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orders that the officer should be warned to be more careful in future and so on and so forth.

This device of doing and not doing anything is convenient for the head of the department but is not calculated to ensure efficient administration. Moreover, I was not the man to take shelter under subterfuges or the Government's almighty 'air-umbrella'. In fact, I did not consider myself as apart from Government and held myself completely responsible for all that took place in the administration of my Department. I had powers to transfer any B. E. S. Class II officer, and some of them were in the selection grade, drawing a salary of Rs. 800 p.m. These officers were as important as Deputy Collectors (Assistant Commissioners) in the Revenue Department, who could be transferred only by Government. The Revenue Commissioner of a division had no powers to transfer a Dy. Collector to another division. When I transferred an officer from a college on the ground that he was not a good influence, there was a hue and cry in the Secretariat, as the officer had a great pull with the Government. It is such officers that can do a considerable amount of mischief with impunity. They will talk 'politics', talk ill of one another and generally undermine discipline. As far as possible, I would support the Principal in his efforts to maintain disipline among his staff and students, and it was on the advice of the Principal himself that I had transferred such an officer. The Secretary, Shri D. S. Joshi, asked me, presumably on the advice of the Minister, why the D. P. I. should enjoy more powers than a Revenue Commissioner in respect of transfers. I pointed out that the Revenue Commissioner had not more than twenty Deputy Collectors under him, while I had more than 200 B. E. S. Class II officers. How could Government take the responsibility of dealing with such a large number? However, I said, personally I had no objection at all to Government's taking over the responsibility provided they thought they could discharge it more promptly and efficiently, and even more fairly than I could. The matter was not pursued. One thing must be said to the credit of Shri Kher. As far as administration of education was concerned, he left it entirely or almost entirely to the Secretary and me. In my five years' experience under him, there were only two occasions when he tried to interfere and on both the occasions, he could not have been too happy at the outcome. On the first, employment was to be provided to a lady who had been serving as Headmistress of a girls' High school in the North Western Frontier province. This was to be included in the Pakistan to be shortly carved out of India, and the Government's orders were that she should be treated as a displaced person. She had no claims on the Bombay State,

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as she belonged to one of the South Indian States. Moreover, she had tried her best a few years before to be absorbed in the Bombay State service and been found unfit. Both Mr. Grieve and Mr. Moos had expressed their opinion that she was not fit for a gazetted appointment. She was an ordinary B. A. B. T. and her appointment now directly as B. E. S. Class II officer would have created some heart burning among the Class III officers. A few years' service in the North West Frontier province would not alter the situation. I pointed out these facts in my reply to Government's reference and said, somewhat strongly, that her appointment would not be desirable. Moreover, the partition of India affected the Hindus in Pakistan and the Moslems in India. She as neither, would not come under the category of persons to be rehabilitated. Apparently, Shri Kher had promised Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Chief Minister of N. W. F. P. that he would accommodate her in the Bombay cadre of gazetted officers. So, he was extremely annoyed with me and expressed his displeasure. In the circumstances, I wrote a more courteous letter, saying that what I had stated in my last letter were facts and that, if in spite of them, Government wanted me to provide for her, I could appoint her as Asst. Inspectress of Girls' schools for nine months in the exercise of my powers. At the same time, I pointed out that, before the nine months were over, her appointment would have got to be approved by the Public Service Commission, as per rules. So the lady was appointed, but, on a reference being made to it, the Public Service Commission flatly refused to acquiesce in her appointmesnt. The post was accordingly advertised and the lady was asked to take her chance along with others. The Public Service Commission did not even call her for the interview, as she hadn't the basic minimum qualifications required (viz. IInd class B. A. or B. Sc. with B. T. or B. Ed.). She was accordingly relieved. It was a defeat for Shri Kher.

The second instance of Shri Kher's direct interference at the instance of another 'big man' occurred in 1948, when the promotion of an Asst. Lecturer in Sanskrit at the Karnatak College was in question. The post of Lecturer in Sanskrit became vacant, towards the end of 1947-48, at the Ismail Yusuf College, Andheri. The record of service of the most senior Asst. Lecturer who could be considered for promotion to the post of Lecturer was good, and since he was a Kannada man with high literary gifts, I thought he would be more useful at Dharwar than in Bombay. I had known him for many years as a leading Kannada playwright, and it would not have been in the public interest to transfer him away. It happend that the person in charge of the Sanskrit Department at Karantak College had his lien at

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Ismail Yousuf College. The best arrangement I could think of in the circumstances was to transfer him to Andheri and to promote the playwright at Karnatak College itself so, his literary activities would not suffer by transplantation to another linguistic region. I accordingly so arranged matters as to retain him, on promotion, at Karnatak College.

Andheri, a suburb of Bombay, has never been so attractive for our college teachers. Moreover, for reasons of climate and cost of living, officers with a small income naturally preferred Dharwar. On receipt of my transfer orders, the dislodged Lecturer promptly interested an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Bombay in his case. This person is reported to have said to Shri Kher, "Shri Pavate has been unduly influenced in this case by the Karnatak M. L. As. Usually, an officer on promotion is sent where the vacancy has occurred." Shri Kher himself a great lover of Sanskrit, had a high respect for this scholar, and, was therefore, easily convinced that I had effected this transfer to favour a Kannada man at the cost of a Marathi man. Although the Secretary to Government Shri Joshi assured him that I was incapable of being influenced by such considerations and that I must have been solely motivated by the administrative exigencies, Shri Kher was bent on reversing my orders. Now, it happened that our playwright had had all his service at Dharwar, and the Minister thought he could exploit this weak spot. The Secretary, unable to pacify him on the issue, asked me to see the Minister and do what he wanted to do on a thorough examination of both sides of the question. This was good enough for me, as I always kept an open mind on any question. So, one afternoon I saw the Minister in the company of the Secretary. He swooped down upon me, "You have been influenced by the Karnatak Legislators in the matter. This is partiality" I replied quietly but firmly, "Well, Sir, your guess is wide of the mark. In fact, the legislators from my part of the country know me too well to try and influence me. I hold myself entirely and solely responsible for these postings, and, if you convince me to the contrary, I should be only too happy to mend matters, I hold no brief for anybody. My only motive was to retain a well-known Kannada literary artist as well as a sound Sanskrit scholar at Dharwar in the public interest." Then Shri Kher came down with his trump card. "If you think him to be so good as all that, why should only one college in the State have the benefit of his scholarship? I want that no person should remain in the same college for more than five years." To that I replied, "Sir, your proposition is sound but a counsel of perfection. There are various grades in the Educational service, and it happens that the higher grades like the I. E. S.

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or Class I are mostly confined to the Elphinstone college and the Royal Institute of Science. The new rule you propose to introduce will not work. Shri Kher had to agree. He said, "All right, let your man of letters be transferred somewhere else." Then I said, "I will transfer him right now but on one condition. If you are required later on to retransfer him to Dharwar for political reasons under pressure from legislators, we shall be further stultifying ourselves in the eyes of the public. Please weigh the matter carefully before you ask me to go ahead."

Shri Kher, however, insisted on the transfer and orders were issued by me accordingly. The matter had taken a linguistic turn. What had been impressed upon Shri Kher was that the Karnatak poeple had brought great pressure on me to retain a Kannada man at Dharwar at the expense of a Marathi man. This was not correct. I confess that, between the two persons, I preferred the Marathi officer both as man and as scholar. The Kannada man, on the other hand, had a genius for coming into conflict with somebody or other and had a highly exaggerated notion about himself. Despite this, I wanted him to remain at Dharwar on the sole consideration of his contribution to Kannada literature and particularly to Kannada drama.

As I had warned Shri Kher, M. L. As. and M. L. Cs. from the Karnatak area began to call on him to protest against the new orders. The Marathi officer joined his appointment at the Ismail Yusuf College in accordance with my orders. Our playwright did not join his appointment at the Elphinstone College, while K. R. Potdar, whom he was displacing, like a disciplined officer, faithfully reported to duty at Karnatak College. Instead, he proceeded on a month's leave during which he hoped to negotiate for the cancellation of the orders. I knew him to be popular in Karnatak, but I could not have imagined he was so popular as to enlist the sympathy of practically every M. L. A. and M. L. C. They made out that, by the intervention of Shri Kher himself, a Marathi man, a Kannada man had been shamefully wronged. Now Shri Kher began to realise his mistake, but of course, there was no question of going back now. Backed by about forty members of the Legislature, our discontended officer flatly refused to go to Bombay. He was quite sure that he could bring the Chief Minister to his knees. He bombarded Government with threats of resignation. As an alternative, he would go to Bombay only if promoted to Class I. Unreason piled on unreason. After a couple of months, Shri Kher quietly broached the subject to me, "Pavate, this man threatens to resign, the poor chap will lose his pension and soon be on the streets. We may have to reconsider the position." I resolutely kept my counsel. Which Minis-

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ter would dare to brush off the unanimous demand of the Legislature from one region? On the other hand, neither I nor the Secretary to Government would be ready to cancel the orders a second time. Months passed. At first Shri Kher was under the impression that I, as a Kannada man, was personally interested in the Kannada writer. So he could hardly understand me insisting, in the interests of discipline and Government prestige, on his joining his duties in Bombay and remaining there at least a year. Meanwhile, letters threatening resignation, or alternatively demanding a Class I kept pouring in. There is, however, a limit to everything. With all his new-found sympathy, Shri Kher had to accept his resignation. Then only did our playwright realise his folly and began to blame the M. L. As. and M. L. Cs. who had encouraged him in his recalcitrance. The effect of all this was that the Marathi gentleman had to go to Andheri despite his efforts to avoid it and the Kannada playwright lost his job; It was a sensational case, as far as the Karnatak people were concerned, but also a nine days' wonder. That is how simple matters are made complicated by other people's interference in administration.

The high moral tone and efficiency of any Department depend largely on the wise selection of officers and the promotion of competent persons. No person with a meritorious record should be superseded. In other words, there must be a feeling among all officers that good work will be rewarded and that mere influence will not be of much avail. Similarly, there must be fear among them that bad behaviour and neglect of work shall entail punishment. In any case, automatic promotion on mere seniority does more harm than good, for there is no incentive for the officers to keep themselves up to date in their field. I, therefore, established a tradition that all promotions in the collegiate or administrative branch, particularly to Class I, would be made by direct recruitment on the advice of the Public Service Commission. I had realised that senior officers in the administrative branch would be soon retiring, and that there would, in a few years, be few trained, able and well qualified officers to take up higher appointments like those of D. P. I. or Dy. D. P. I.

The cadre of Divisional Educational Inspectors was small as the total strength was restricted to the number of divisions in the State. Originally, these were the only inspecting officers, in addition to the two Inspectresses of Girls' schools, who were in the I. E. S. and later in the B. E. S. Class I. To have a leave reserve, a post of Asst. Educational Inspector in Class I was created; but that was not adequate. So, at my suggestion, Government created two posts of Asst. Educational Inspector in B. E. S. Class I for every division. These eight

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posts in Class I in the administrative branch were filled by direct recruitment through the Public Service Commission. The Department was thus able to have in the administrative branch, a strong reserve of Class I officers with high educational qualifications. Similarly, a number of Class II appointments in the administrative branch were made by direct recruitment, in order to have a large number of well qualified and experienced men at the district level. The minimum qualification prescribed for the post of Asst. Educational Inspector Class I was second class M. A. or M. Sc. with at least five years' teaching experience. A professional qualification like B. Ed. or B. T. would be an additional qualification. Similarly, for Class II appointments, we required at least second-class graduates with teaching experience. This arrangement enabled us to have competent and experienced men in the administrative branch and the Department was in a strong position to fill a vacancy of any higher and responsible post without difficulty.

When I had done about three years service as D. P. I., Government asked me to think about who should be my successor in due course. All senior officers, like Dy. D. P. I. and Joint D. P. Is. were due to retire before me, and it was natural that Government should be anxious to have a senior officer of the Department trained to take my place. The college Principals were the only senior persons to be considered for the appointment. Here, again, it was not desirable to go strictly by seniority. Their length of service after me and their aptitude for an administrative post were to be the main considerations. The most senior Principal—in fact he was senior to me—was Shri N. L. Ahmed, Principal of Elphinstone College ; but he was not then keen on an administrative post, which involved about 3 or 4 years' training under me. So I proposed the next senior person, Shri S. S. Bhandarkar, who was Principal of Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, for the post of Dy. D. P. I., to be groomed to succeed me. It took a good deal of persuasion for Principal Bhandarkar to agree to be transferred to headquarters. He was a good Professor of English, was popular as Principal and had many years' service yet in the Department. He was an old friend of mine—we went to England on the same boat as students and joined the Department of Education at the same time. We were all happy when he finally decided to throw in his lot with us and share the rough and tumble of administration, giving up his smooth and settled life as Principal of a Government college. I have very happy and pleasant memories of his relations with me.

The question of selecting a person for a responsible post is not

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always easy. There are usually a number of applicants. Some of them are selected for interview on the basis of the minimum qualifications laid down in the advertisement. So far it is all right. The final choice from among those who are interviewed is always difficult. The Chairman of the Public Service Commission has to keep an eye on all his colleagues and see that the final choice is made on merit and suitability. I used to have great fun sitting with the Commission while interviewing candidates for my Department. However honest and fair-minded the Chairman may be, he and the Commission are bound to be criticised by the disappointed candidates. Communal or regional motives are attributed to the selecting authority by the interested party. Every year, I used to sit with the Commission for the selection of officers for my Department. The procedure followed by the Bombay Public Service Commission was that the Chairman put questions to the candidates first, then a senior member, then another and so on and finally the Head of the Department. My own role on the Commission was occasional and advisory. The final decision was theirs. Indeed, on some occasions they did not accept my choice and I could not possibly feel aggrieved as judgments are bound occasionally to differ. I had great respect for them and indeed we had grown into friends.

On one occasion, a candidate was to be interviewed for an administrative post. He had high educational qualifications and was extremely good-looking. As soon as he entered the room, I could have bet anything that he was bound to be selected. The interview progressed as usual, but one member of the Commission apparently did not like him. So he started somewhat like this : "Suppose I say that except for the colour of your skin, you are not qualified for this post. How would you prove that I am wrong ?" The intention of this question was to make the candidate highlight some of his special qualifications for the post in question. There could be no objection to it, but the manner in which it was framed was so embarrassing for the candidate that he was flustered and could hardly collect his wits. To make matters worse, I asked the candidate an equally awkward question. I said, "There seems to be something wrong with the way you sit on the chair." This, again, put him out as he had indeed good reason for sitting that way. This person was not selected eventually, but the Chairman said, "I have no objection to your condemning a candidate ; but why must you add insult to injury ?" My own experience of the Bombay Public Service Commission was that it was singularly free from the kind of communal or regional prejudices which we see sometimes in other selecting

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agencies. It is natural that a teacher show a certain amount of affection for his students and to do his best for them. This is in evidence everywhere in the world. What is objectionable is the anxiety to support one's students beyond reasonable limits, often on grounds of community. I had under me a Principal of a Government college, who had been a student and was a relation of a top-ranking scientist of international repute. This scientist wanted me to give the Principal extension for a year or two. The Principal was not a particularly successful administrator and was indeed unpopular in the college. So I told the scientist that the Bombay Governmnet was not in favour of giving extension to any of its officers and that he might as well fix him up in one of the Government of India schemes. He said, "Oh, I could do it easily." Sure he was fixed up in one of the Government of India concerns, but he made even a poorer job of it there.

I must say, by and large, the Bombay administration under Shri Kher and Shri Morarjibhai was singularly clean. One often heard of Shri Kher being communal. Nothing could be a greater travesty of the truth. A person in a responsible position cannot please everybody, and most fantastic charges against the Ministers and other important officers have their roots here. They spread like wild-fire, and the greater the lie, the greater is the credulity of those who hear them. I know of a case in which he was distinctly unfair to his own caste-man. A. B. E. S. Class I post in a Government college was advertised and, on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, a well-qualified and experienced Karada Brahmin was appointed to the post and orders were about to issue. Meantime, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar saw him and pleaded for a non-Brahmin in the Department. The latter was not a patch on the candidate selected by the Commission and yet, in his anxiety to show that he was not inconsiderate to non-Brahmins, Shri Kher went out of his way to cancel the orders which he had previously passed on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. There might have been other weaknesses in Shri Kher but communalism was not one of them.

VIII. General Administration.

The Head of the Education Department ever since the creation of the Department in 1855 was known as Director of Public Instruction. The word "Education" being, however, more comprehensive

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than the term 'Public Instruction', the Bombay Government decided in 1950, to designate the Head of the Education Department, as Director of Education. I was thus the first Director of Education of the Bombay Province.

The D. P. I. or Director of Education was required in those days to dispose of 100 to 150 files every day concerning almost all subjects pertaining to education, from Primary schools to the University. Attending to visitors and the disposal of these files would ordinarily take the whole of the Director's time and keep him busy throughout the year. Although this might justify his salary, it is not sufficient. For, if the Director is occupied merely with passing orders on routine cases, he will never get a clear picture of his Department. In my view, the Director must get in touch with all his officers throughout his State and discuss with them problems of important institutions or the district concerned. So I used to make it a point to visit every district at least once a year and note down in my diary my impressions of the persons I met and the problems they brought to my notice. Similarly, I used to visit every Government college and meet all the members of the teaching staff including the Principal. Some of my predecessors used to visit a Government college in the past once in three or five years, but they hardly interviewed all the teachers. They depended only on the Principal. While it is true that the Director should back up the Principal, he should not do so mechanically, without knowing the full background of the case. I was, therefore, at an advantage in dealing with difficult cases either from a district or from an institution. After the merger of the small states of "Princely India", I visited the Secondary schools and the colleges in each of them and settled their problems on the spot. In the circumstances, Government received no complaint about the district administration. Also, I was in a position to explain personally to Government, or anybody who asked me, any question about any administrative problem. Recently a Principal of a college under the Maharashtra Government told me that I was the last Director to visit the Ismail Yusuf College, Andheri. True, it is difficult to find time to visit all colleges and other important institutions, but how else can the Director write confidential reports on Principals ? Once I asked the U. P. Director how he managed to know the work of the districts. He said it was impossible for him to do so and that he depended entirely on the Dy. D. P. I's. There are fifty two districts in the State and he would be required to tour throughout the year, visiting one district a week. Personal contacts with district officers are impossible in a big State like that. This

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results in bureaucratic administration. Fortunately, Bombay had then only nineteen districts and I could easily manage them. Moreover, the eleven districts of Maharashtra were throughly familiar to me. This experience and the personal contacts enabled me to dispose of all cases without leaving any arrears. The difficult cases were tackled early in the morning, from 4 to 7 a.m. for, since my school days, I have always got up very early in the morning. The first thing I did in the office was to dictate all important letters to Government. Unless I disposed of difficult or important cases myself immediately, I would not feel happy.

The question of shifting the headquarters of the Director of Education from Poona to Bombay was considered seriously in 1949-50. Government had appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. D. G. Karve, to investigate all problems of administration with a view to efficient and prompt disposal of Government work. There were two others on the committee, one of whom was the Finance Secretary. This committee was asked to examine the question of the headquarters of the Director of Education as well. Carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the proposal, the committee came to the conclusion that the headquarters should remain at Poona. This report was examined by the Cabinet, and on this particular issue, Government seems to have thought, owing to the good relations existing for many years between Prof. Karve and myself, I must have unduly influenced the Karve Committee. Whatever the reason, Government took a decision that the office of the Director of Education should be shifted to Bombay forthwith. It is true that I never liked to live in Bombay. My early services under Government had been in Bombay for four years and I thought I had had enough of it. Bombay is all right for people who can afford to live on Malabar Hill. As Head of a Department, I would have been given a Government flat there; but even so, I thought that for the Education Department, Poona was the best place. When Government issued orders transferring the headquarters from Poona to Bombay, I saw Shri B. G. Kher with a view to inducing him to change his mind, if possible, on the question. As soon as I broached the subject, he started in a rage, "The Poona people are the most conservative of all. They are at least two hundred years behind the times, etc. etc." When I had a chance to get a word, I said, "The Poona people, in my opinion, are quite advanced and very idealistic. I confess I like them very much, but what worries me most is my office staff and the office records piled up for nearly a hundred years." He said he would find accommodation for all of us and the records. I said, "I want solid buildings for hous-

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ing my office records, not hutments." He said he would try and find good buildings for my office as well. Finally I said, "After finding accommodation for all this, please find a new Director, for I have not the least intention of living in Bombay." The office still remains in Poona.

IX. Linguistic problems.

An Educational administrator is interested in linguistic problems to the extent of seeing that opportunities are given to children to learn through their own tongue at least as far as the Primary level. Shri Kher had made a good rule, that wherever there was a demand for a Primary school in a particular language, it should be allowed to be started provided there were at least forty children to attend it. As a result of these orders, many schools in border areas had been started to provide education in the mother-tongue of the children. This naturally put the back up of a few local diehards. I read in one of the papers that I had been greeted with black flags when I went to Akalkot taluka to open forty new Kannada schools. I had not been to Akalkot, or any village in that taluka, at all for more than a year and I was surprised that such a fantastic story should have been concocted to defame me. So I politely wrote to the Editor of that paper pointing out that I had not been to any village of Akalkot taluka on the date mentioned by him and that there could, therefore, have been no question of any black flags. The Editor had the sense of humour to reply that it was true that I had not gone there, but had I gone, I would have been received with black flags. This was a sort of challenge to me and after a few days I visited some villages of the old Deccan States now included in the Akalkot taluka, in which Kannada schools were thriving. The people gave me a reception the like of which I have never had in my life. It was roses, roses, all the way. My car could not take all the garlands. All those villagers were agog with excitement. For once, I felt a hero as I was taken in procession with bands playing through the streets. These people wanted to express their gratitude for the little service I had rendered to the village community. I was naturally touched at once by their affection for me and by their enthusiasm for education. In a sense, the people's excitement on my arrival was more an expression of their freedom from the medieval rule to which they had been until lately subjected. While I was about to return to Sholapur in the evening, I asked some of the leaders whether any people had come from Akalkot or Sholapur with

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black flags. They said, "Yes Sir, a few agitators had come here from Sholapur but we have them safely locked up. They will be released after you go back." There was, of course, no mention of this incident in the paper concerned.

In 1948, the Government of India appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Justice S. K. Dhar, to report on the question of formation of the provinces of Andhra, Kerala, Karnatak and Maharashtra. I was not particularly interested in the problem of linguistic provinces, but the Government of Bombay asked me to give evidence before the Commission from the point of view of the Kannada people. Bombay was then a multi-lingual State with three predominant languages—Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada. Two officers from each of these regions were selected by the Government to give evidence before the Commission. I was clearly given to understand that the Commission should be told at the very outset that the views I expressed were my own and not the Bombay Government's. This was fair enough, I did so before I began. Apart from the three members of the Commission, there were a few associate members from Madras, Bombay and C. P., representing different linguistic interests. Those associate members, except Shri H. V. Pataskar, were not present at the Poona session. Shri Pataskar was a leading lawyer of Chalisgaon in East Khandesh district, and since he was President of an educational association which was running a good Secondary school in his town, I had known him fairly well in my Educational Inspector days.

Justice Dhar's first question was whether I was in favour of linguistic provinces. To this I replied in the affirmative and I justified it on these grounds: The four Kannada districts had been sadly neglected for years. During the regime of the British, all the linguistic areas had been neglected and there was no wonder that the Kannada areas too had been neglected. Even then occasionally some Marathi and Gujarati persons had been appointed as members of the Executive Council; but the Kannada people had had no share whatsoever in the governance of the Bombay Presidency. Even during the Dyarchy, the three ministers and two members of the Executive Council were all from Sind, Gujarat and Maharashtra till 1930, when a solitary person—Shri Siddappa Kambli was appointed a Minister from the Karnatak region, for the first time. Even the Congress Government in the Bombay State had but one representative, although the area and the population of the four Kannada districts had been nearly the same as those of the five districts of Gujarat. The result was that there was hardly anybody to look after the interests of the Kannada region at the Government level. For instance, whenever

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there were floods in North Canara district, prompt relief was not given. Bijapur is a famine-stricken district but very little relief was forthcoming from Government. Briefly, Bombay Government had been giving the Kannada region step-motherly treatment. Coming to education, there had been instances of Marathi domination in Kannada villages and towns. The present Government had, it was true, permitted the starting of Kannada schools in those areas; but the net effect of the previous rule had been that the people had no mastery either over Marathi or Kannada. At this stage, Shri Pataskar got excited and said, "If you give instances of Marathi domination over the Kannada areas, I will give you examples of Kannada domination over Marathi areas." I simply said, "Two wrongs won't make one right,—domination by any people over others is wrong. By this you admit my point that there is a strong case for linguistic states." Justice Dhar was getting interested in my evidence and asked Shri Pataskar not to interrupt me and that, if he had anything to discuss with me, he might do it later. I continued, "In all such areas Kannada people have developed a complex and are sending their children to Marathi schools. The old idea that Marathi is the language of the ruling class still dominates them My view is that the Kannada people will never develop their individuality or good leadership unless they have an independent State of their own." Justice Dhar then asked me what my views were on the question of Bombay. I said, "Bombay is in Maharashtra. It is a geographical fact. Of course, it is now an all-India port and a great business centre. But merely because there are a large number of people from Gujarat, Marwar, Bengal, or South India, the geographical fact does not alter. I do not see one good reason why Bombay should be, in the new set up, outside the Maharashtra province. The country within a radius of 75 miles with Bombay as centre, is wholly Marathi-speaking and I see no reason why the Central Government should administer Bombay either. The politicians are complicating simple issues." To this Justice Dhar said, "You are over-simplifying the position." Anyway, my views on Bombay so pleased Shri Pataskar that he was prepared to let my remarks on the Marathi-Kannada controversy go unchallenged. Justice Dhar said to him, "You wanted to say something to Pavate, you may do so now." Shri Pataskar simply said, "I have nothing to say." Shri Pataskar apparently told the Congress leaders of Poona that my evidence was the best on that day, for it appeared like that in a Congress daily of Poona. It was great fun!

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X. Under Morarjibhai.

Shri Morarjibhai took over as Chief Minister in 1951. Every Head of Department, according to a well established tradition in Bombay, had to call on the Chief Minister once a month and report to him all that happened during the period. This is a good system, as it enables the Chief Minister to be in touch with what has been going on.

The first time I saw him as Chief Minister, he showed great interest in Basic education. He said it should, in accordance with the Gandhian principles, be self-supporting. I said, "Yes Sir, we started with Gandhian philosophy, but we have left it far behind. What is now done in the name of Basic education is simply craft education. A craft is taught in addition to the other subjects. This had added to our expenditure. Speaking from memory, I believe we have wasted equipment worth about a crore of rupees. For want of space, nothing is done in most of the schools although equipment has been provided. By the way, I have nothing to do with either the policy of Government or the administration of Basic education. I am personally very unhappy about these results. I will give you a note on the exact position next month." Next month I saw him with a note giving the figures which showed an enormous excess of expenditure over income in the way of yarn or cloth sold. Nor was there any evidence of Basic education, as practised, enthusing children to creative activities. I had to keep the Chief Minister informed of the exact position in respect of Basic education, for he set very high store by it. I said to him that, if he thought I was responsible for its not being a success, he might appoint somebody else as D. P. I. Shri Morarjibhai always liked straightforward talk and, when I told him all this, he never referred to the question again. I had done my duty by Basic education.

Shri K. G. Saiyidain who was mainly concerned as Educational Adviser with policies in Basic Education, took an appointment under the Government of India and left for Delhi. Shri L. R. Desai was also about to retire. So there was not much vigour left in Basic education. The only person who was still very keen on the spread of it was Miss. Indumati Seth, who had by then risen to Deputy Minister for Education. Theory and practice are often miles apart. This is not often realised by policy-makers when they are anxious to put new ideas into practice on a large scale and in the shortest possible time. The Advisory committee for Basic education in their anxiety to start as many schools as possible, had recommended *interalia* the conversion of all Primary schools into Craft schools, where craft was taught as an independent subject, without any relation to the other subjects in

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the curriculum. The Government acted on this recommendation with disastrous results. There was a sharp falling-off in efficiency with nothing to compensate it. In the fifty-five Basic schools started in compact areas during 1937-40, there was a reasonable standard maintained—the boys were alert and active and the schools were humming with activity—though the expenditure was considerable. Nearly 3,000 Primary schools were ordered to be converted into craft schoolsand I was surprised when I received Government orders on the subject. There were three factors which ran counter to Mahatma Gandhi's principles. One wasthat, without the support of the all-India Khadi Board or of Government subsidy, there was no hope of anybody purchasing the yarn spun or the cloth woven in the schools. The second was that, even after fifteen years of the experiment, the Basic schools were more costly per capita than ordinary schools. For instance in 1953-54, in an ordinary Primary school, the cost per pupil was Rs. 28.40 while that in the Basic (or craft) schools, it was Rs. 29.10. Thirdly there was no correlation between the craft and academic subjects.

Shri R. A. Jahagirdar did not like to contest the election for the Vice-Chancellorship of Karnatak University, after two years' experience as a nominated Vice-Chancellor. He had apparently had enough of that office. He had had no administrative experience and found it difficult to do any constructive work for the university. The advice of his friends also was not of much avail to him. He must have felt a square peg in a round hole. All the same he was a thorough gentleman and well-meaning. In 1951, when the election of the Vice-Chancellor was to be held, Shri Jahagirdar wisely withdrew from the field. There were three condidates for the office. Prof. S. S. Basavanal, a noted Kannada scholar and former Professor of Economics in the Lingaraj College, Belgaum, Sir Siddappa Kambli, former Education Minister of the Bombay Government, and Shri C. C. Hulkoti, a former district Judge and then a member of the Bombay Public Service Commission. Of these three, the first one was the only educationist with some status in the intellectual world, and he would have ordinarily had no difficulty in being elected. But a small party consisting of 12 to 15 members of the Senate dominated the scene. A few influential members of this party were Government servants under me—Lecturers and Assistant Lecturers. The small party was keen on seizing power so that it might eventually possess all the patronage in the university. All the three candidates approached the leader of this party and true to the party's creed, he assured his party's full support to each of the three candidates so that

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the election campaign might go on with feelings running high. In the end Shri Hulkoti won the election, but his success was due to the support he had not only from this party but also from several others, on whom he could not normally rely for the smooth working of the university. The only idea they had of a university was that they could flourish in it somehow and distribute examinerships and memberships of various committees. Some of them even thought they could indulge in malpractices of some kind or other with impunity through their leadership in the university. Shri Hulkoti, however, was a shrewd man. Although he gave these people a certain amount of liberty, he would sit tight on vital issues. After all, he was a seasoned lawyer, and had had many years' experience as Judge. He had had administrative experience also in his early career as President of the District Local Board and Dharwar municipality. He had, however, some difficulty in controlling the Senate and Syndicate meetings for want of experience in educational affairs.

Soon, his friends helped themselves to examinerships and other rewards. This was bad enough; but they began to criticise the Vice-Chancellor and other senior and experienced educationists including the Registrar Prof. D. P. Patravali. The persons who could not ordinarily have been appointed examiners for the Intermediate examination, became examiners for M. A.

Dharwar is a small place and the people are not always broad-minded. Communal considerations count for much. Although they occasionally show a certain amount of patriotism and idealism in public affairs, they are inclined to be selfish and narrow-minded. Now, having elected Shri Hulkoti, they should have supported him sincerely and helped make his administration a success. Instead, they gloried in bringing him into difficulties. Often they ran him down in private conversation. I noticed all these things whenever I went to Dharwar.

Within a year of Shri Hulkoti's election, there was some trouble in the university. Not that there was anything the matter with Hulkoti's administration. In fact, he showed great ability and straightforwardness as administrator and nobody had any complaint against him on that account. Shri Hulkoti had brought his Bombay Secretary to Dharwar. His vision had long been poor and the girl-secretary knew English well and did much of his reading for him. She was also an excellent stenographer. But Dharwar is a conservative place and had never heard of such a thing as a girl-stenographer, let alone a lady secretary. Idle tongues began to wag. The gossip reached the years of Shri Morarjibhai, always a puritan in these matters. There are people,

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too, who can give a spiced account of anything. That is how Shri Morarjibhai's appetite for more was whipped up. I was amazed to find that many important people who had helped Shri Hulkoti in the election not only by their votes but by active canvassing, revelled in the scandal. Presently, I began to smell in the Secretariat, a distinctly hostile atmosphere not only against the Vice-Chancellor, Shri Hulkoti, but also his university. In fact, they even jeered at me, suggesting that the Karnatak area was unspeakably backward and had no leadership at all. All this hurt me. Though I tried my best to discountenance these rumours, I did not succeed, as some top leaders of the legislature were interested in encouraging them. There was also a certain amount of communal animus in the affair. In these circustmances, nobody could have succeeded in disabusing the Chief Minister's mind.

Meantime, matters came to a head. The girl-secretary despairing of being fixed up as stenographer in the University and consequently disgusted with life, with the scandals adding fuel to the fire, seems to have taken an overdose of sleeping tablets, but not without leaving a note which would exculpate others of the consequences. Now the fat was in the fire. Government ordered a police enquiry. They had long wanted Shri Hulkoti to be removed from his position; only there was no provision in the University Act for such removal. So they decided to make capital of this incident.

Actually nothing serious happened. Shri Morarjibhai all along had been wondering why I did not say a word about this or any other scandal at my monthly interview with him. But in November, 1953, when we were discussing the educational affairs of the State, he casually referred to the administration of the Karnatak University and even to the scandals he had been hearing. This gave me an opportunity to try and correct his impression. I said, "Sir, these scandal-mongers are spreading all sorts of stories. I go to Dharwar every two months and, to the best of my knowledge, these rumours are absolutely unfounded. Nobody really believes them. I for one, won't believe in these stories. Moreover, I do not understand why anybody should interest himself in the private affairs of others." When I said this with a certain amount of emotion, Shri Morarjibhai smiled as though he was not offended at my suggestion of his credulity. Actually Shri Morarjibhai was turning events in his mind and did not want to say anything at that stage. Perhaps he was to talk it over again with the M. L. As. and M. L. Cs. and other friends on whom he relied for these stories. I left his chambers without any untoward incident, happy that I at least had stood up to him in defence of Shri Hulkoti.

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At this stage, I must explain to some extent my relationship with Shri Morarjibhai. He was generally kind to all officers who did their job honestly and efficiently. I had known him since 1937 and had been on genial terms with him. He is an absolutely fair-minded man, although strangely enough he has his likes and dislikes. I had always been frank and unguarded with him and spoken to him just as I felt on any public question and he had given me the impression that he liked. So I could throughout my official career depend on his unqualified support. He did not bear me a grudge even though on one occasion I did exactly the opposite of what he desired. Soon after he became Chief Minister, he wanted the degree of Gujarat Vidyapeeth of Ahmedabad, recognised as equivalent to University degree for purposes of employment under Government. He happened to be Chancellor of the Vidyapeeth and was anxious to get some sort of recognition for the graduates of that institution, which was started in the non-cooperation days at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi himself. It was open to him to issue orders straightaway, but he would follow the constitutional procedure and sent a note on the Vidyapeeth to the Chief Secretary. That note, in course of time, reached me. So I went to Ahmedabad, made an enquiry about the syllabi, the teaching and the examinations. Having regard to the kind of students admitted and the work done by them, I wrote a lengthy note of about 20 pages at the end of which I recommended that the Vidyapeeth's degrees be recognised as equivalent to the Secondary school or Matriculation certificate for purposes of Government employment. This report naturally caused consternation in the Secretariat and the Education Secretary and the Chief Secretary faithfully put it up to the Chief Minister. Shri Morarjibhai just ordered the papers to be filed and took no exception to my report. At my monthly interview with him, he simply said, more in jest than in earnest, "You have added insult to injury by recommending those degrees to be equated to the school leaving examination." He did not raise the point again, at least as long as I continued to be the Head of the Education Department.

Regarding this Hulkoti's scandal, Shri Morarjibhai seemed to have listened too trustingly to some of his friends from Karnatak. Somehow, he had set his heart upon removing Hulkoti from his position, and it looked odd to him that I, who should know best, was the only one to say nothing against him, and he was naturally annoyed at this. Anyway, some trouble was brewing for me. At the next monthly meeting, the Chief Minister started his barrage of fire on me somewhat like this: "I am surprised that as Head of the Education

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Department you should be defending immorality under pretext of ignorance. You have ruined the good name of the whole Bombay State. The D. P. I. should have an eye on all these things and make an example of such men. I am sorry to find you have betrayed the trust I have reposed in you all these years." Although I had alwaysbeen grateful to Shri Morarjibhai, I could tolerate neither his homily nor his insinuations. So I promptly replied, "The Universities are autonomous bodies and, if the administration is poor or the moral standards have gone down, there is a constitutional procedure for it. It is no part of my duties to find out about the private lives of anybody. Obviously, some people who want to ruin the university have been carrying tales, and once you believe them, there will be more stories for your consumption. I am not interested in what you think of Shri Hulkoti; but I am vitally interested in what you think of me. If you have no confidence in me, I am ready to retire. I have applied for eight months leave. Please allow me to proceed on leave preparatory to retirement for which I have already applied. Then you can have a D. P. I. who can improve the moral tone of the State to your satisfaction." Saying something like this, I just walked out of his room in a huff and told the Secretary what had happened between us. I said to him, "I am off, you had better have a new D. P. I. right now. I recommend Shri Bhandarkar but if the Chief Minister has another man in view on the ground of morality, let him have him by all means. You must relieve me by the end of this month." The Secretary Shri A. L. Dias, was a seasoned I. C. S. officer, who knew how to size up persons. He just smiled and we parted. Never in my life had I had any quarrel with my senior officers or Ministers, and I felt sad that I was to retire after a tiff with a man who had been friendly and kind to me for several years. The only satisfaction I had was that I had acted according to my conscience. I said to myself I could never talk ill of even my worst enemies on personal matters, much less of this poor old man, a victim of communal antagonism. Ten days after this happening there was a meeting of the Central Advisory Board at Delhi, and since my Minister was not attending I was required to attend it on behalf of the Government. I was at Constitution House, and Shri Dias, our Secretary, who had also come to attend the meeting, saw me there. He was all smiles and I asked him what he was excited about. He said with some pride, "Well, I have settled your differences with the Chief Minister. He was obviously under some misunderstanding. He has forgotten all about it. Now he wants to refuse the leave you have asked for. He even wants to give you extension by one year. Will you take it ?" I said, "Most certainly *not*. I can't accept extension when

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I have refused it to so many of my subordinates. Principles are principles. Nobody is indispensable in the world and everyone of us has to go at the appointed time. Regarding the Hulkoti affair, if he is ready to bury the hatchet, so am I." Next time I met the Chief Minister we talked pleasantly about the weather and other equally unimportant things. He asked me to accept the extension of service, but my reply was that Government were free to do anything they pleased with me until my superannuation, but *not after*. This is how the curtain came down upon Hulkoti's case as far as I was concerned.

Coming to the C. A. B. meeting at Delhi, there was an incident which caused great commotion. The Madras Government had prepared an Elementary Education Bill, which was placed on the agenda of the C. A. B. meeting with a view to recommending it to the other States. Rajaji was the Chief Minister of Madras. A copy of it had been sent to me a few months before and I had read it carefully. Its object in the main was to give instruction to children in school only in the morning for about three hours and leave them alone to do their parent's work for the rest of the day in lieu of the Basic craft which was accepted in the rest of the country. There was, no doubt, Rajaji's brain behind the scheme, although it was ostensibly prepared by the D. P. I. of Madras State. The Bill was unpopular even in Madras State as the people began to suspect that Rajaji wanted children of backward communities to remain backward by following their parents' trade and eventually threw Rajaji out of office. In a way it was calculated to perpetuate the present social distinction based on caste and profession. It was, therefore, wholly out of tune with the present trends, particularly with the equality of opportunity guaranteed under the constitution. Although I was against it, I was indifferent as long as the experiment was tried out in Madras. The then Education Minister of Madras, however, wanted it to be held as a model to the other States and this was what upset me. What was reprehensible was the effort made openly to canvass for his Bill in the C. A. B. meeting. Apparently, all the distinguished educationists of the C. A. B. supported the Bill and one of them went to th elength of saying "Who are we to criticise the Bill? If it is a product of Rajaji's brain, it must be good. Who is there to challenge the wisdom of Rajaji in the country?" When I heard this kind of speech from the so-called followers of Mahatmaji, on a matter of educational policy affecting millions and millions of our people, I got annoyed. I was already annoyed with the way the Madras representative was canvassing for the scheme. The Central Advisory Board consisted of Ministers of Education and other distinguished educationists, who were to give to

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their country the benefit of their knowledge and experience in education. It was not a vote-catching assembly. I was surprised that not one of these distinguished educationists and officers would say a word against the Bill. It was all prearranged. So I stood up and gave vent to my feelings about the manner in which that important item of business was debated as well as to my views on the Bill. I said it was an atrocious piece of legislation, designed to sabotage the education of poor and backward children. This had nothing to do with Mahatmaji's concept of Basic Education. The only effect it could have was to retard the education of children in the rural areas. Who is going to supervise the work done in the afternoon? Parents? What happens if the parents have no work themselves? The whole Bill is ill-conceived and is impossible to execute. Regarding the remarks of my friend as to "who are we to criticise Rajaji's Bill", I am sure he was speaking for himself. The rest of us had every right to say that it was a misguided scheme and we did say so from our exprience in education for more than twenty five years. We had great respect for Rajaji's contribution to the country in the field of politics, but he had no right to ruin education in the country. When I talked for about half an hour in that strain, there was not only pin-drop silence in the 'House' but it appeared as though I was giving expression to their own ideas and views, which for some reason, they were unable to express. After I finished, most of the State Education Ministers were jubilant and openly shook hands with me for talking sense. The only uncomfortable person in the C. A. B. meeting was the Madras Education Minister. However, when the proposal was put to the vote, I was one of the few to oppose it openly. When the Minister of Education, Madras requested me to withdraw my opposition, I said, "My vote must be recorded in writing, as I am thoroughly opposed to it." The Minister then removed the objectionable clause of the resolution which required the Bill to be sent to each State as a desirable substitute for Basic education. The rest of the resolution was accepted by all, as it simply referred to the experiment as worthy of being tried in Madras.

This minor incident did not, however, rest there. About two months after, I received a confidential communication from Shri Morarjibhai calling for my remarks on a letter from Rajaji in which he had bitterly complained against my attitude in the C. A. B. meeting. He had said in his letter that the Elementary Education Bill of Madras was an improvement on Basic Education necessitated by practical experience and that he was surprised the Bombay D. P. I. should have criticised it even more severely than the D. M. K. did in Madras. I did not then know who Dravida Munnetra Kashagam

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were. Rajaji's letter hinted that I must be a worse non-Brahmin than many in his home State. The tone of the letter was one both of sorrow and anger. In the eyes of Rajaji, anybody who dared to express his opinion against his pet scheme must be a communalist if not a communist. I was surprised that such a towering and seasoned politician as Rajaji should have so little respect for our democratic constitution under which every one was free to criticise any scheme. Moreover, I had done so in the interest of education. I was camping at Mahabaleshwar when I got this letter and I thought carefully for a day or two about Rajaji's reactions and the lines I should take. Then I replied somewhat on these lines. "I had attended the C. A. B. meeting as a representative of the Bombay and not the Madras, Government. I was not, therefore, bound to support the Madras scheme. The Minister of Education, Madras, wanted to hold up the Elementary Education Bill as a model of Basic Education for the whole country. It would have been an insult to the Bombay Government which has done so much for education. I thought that the scheme of the Madras Government was disingenuous and meant to sabotage Basic education as conceived by Mahatmaji, by which the Bombay Government set very high store. It was a spurious article. The main purpose of the Bill was to suppress the poor and the backward people and I wished I had attacked it more vigorously than I had actually done." I did not hear any more on the subject from the Bombay Government. In fact, Rajaji had to resign his Chief Ministership shortly afterwards as a result of this very Bill.

I was due to retire on 2nd August, 1954, and about four months before that I told the Bombay Government that I intended to contest the election to the office of Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University. The Minister of Education Shri Dinkarrao Desai and Shri Morarjibhai Desai were delighted to hear that. They no longer insisted on my accepting extension of service. Government were not at all happy at the state of affairs in Karnatak University, and, therefore, welcomed the idea of my taking over as Vice-Chancellor and setting the matters right. I asked Government to relieve me and allow me to proceed on leave preparatory to retirement. They could not, however, do this. There was plenty of leave due to me, as I had taken leave only for about nine months in all during my twenty four years of service under the Bombay Government. They would say, "You don't need to canvass. You should be returned unopposed in the interests of the University. Stay on till you are elected and have to go to Dharwar as Vice-Chancellor. Otherwise we continue you as D. P. I." I could refuse the extension of service, but not insist on proceeding on

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leave preparatory to retirement when Government wanted me to stay on. At first, it appeared as though I would have a walk-over in the election. But that was not to be the case. Canvassing was going on briskly on behalf of one of my opponents, and my friends were blaming me for not even leaving Poona. As a Government servant, I was not accustomed to the rough and tumble of an election campaign. In the past, I had on some occasions put myself up as a candidate for some minor office, like Board of Studies and the Academic Council of Bombay University, but then canvassing such as was necessary, was done by friends. Even now, the idea of even speaking to some voters about my election was galling to me. Most of my voters were people who were teaching in colleges, and some of these were my subordinate officers. Actually, the latter had a bone to pick with me. They were the people who created the most trouble for me. For, in my enthusiasm for discouraging politics in Government colleges and universities, I had introduced a rule that Government teachers should not contest elections for the Senate, the Academic Council or the Syndicate of any University other than the one to which their own college was affiliated. The intention was to prevent officers in Ahmedabad contesting an election for Senate of the Bombay University (or Poona or Karnatak) nor vice versa. This had infuriated some Kannada-speaking teachers serving in one of the Government colleges in Bombay who were anxious to be connected with Karnatak University. I was ready to concede that to be interested in a new University of their own region was natural. But experience of some of the Universities had convinced me that these officers were more interested in developing power-politics than in assisting the University concerned to grow on sound lines. This was undesirable.

One M. L. C. from the Karnatak region also nursed a grievance against me as I had not allowed him to interfere in my administration as D. P. I. He too was interested in putting up a good fight against me in the elections, but the most interesting and the least expected feature of this election was that Shri Hulkoti himself was interested in defeating and humiliating me. This was purely on personal grounds. He wanted to continue as Vice-Chancellor but nobody was prepared to propose or second him. Some important people who were opposed to me for some reason or other told him—and he believed it—that all Government's prejudices against him had been of my making. So he with some leaders of different communities, was the spearhead of opposition to me, and they were quite sure they would inflict on me a humiliating defeat. The opposition of Shri Hulkoti was for

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me a redeeming feature so far as my relation with Shri Morarjibhai was concerned; for he had no doubt in his mind that I had been deliberately shielding him a few months before on pure grounds of community. Now he was in the forefront of the party opposed to me in the election. Nor was this all. Some of the people who had been poisoning Shri Morarjibhai's mind against Shri Hulkoti were now on his side against me. I had an occasion to refer to this subject in a talk with Shri Morarjibhai during the campaign. He at last admitted he had thoroughly misunderstood me.

The Bombay Government had established sound conventions in regard to elections sought for by an officer under them. Government officers, particularly those in the Education Department often used to contest elections to the Senate or Syndicate of Bombay University. They were forbidden to canvass openly in the ordinary way. For instance, moving about from house to house or writing personal letters asking for votes would be an act not befitting the official position held. In fact, we had issued a circular to the officers in the Education Department that whenever they stood for any election in the Bombay or of any other University, all they might do was to announce their intention of standing, state their qualifications and experience but not *ask* for votes. Thus my official position imposed obvious limitations. There were more than a hundred members on the Senate of Karnatak University. I knew some were not going to vote for me in any case but some might be vacilliating. I did not want to give them a chance to complain later that I was too proud to drop them even a line about my candidature. So I sent the following letter to some fifty members :

Personal

Deccan College
Poona, 6, 25th May, 1954.

Dear——

You may be aware that I am shortly retiring from Government service. With Government's permission, I have offered myself as a candidate at the forthcoming election to fill the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University on 26th June, 1954.

I should probably mention that I have had long experience of university education and educational administration. A a student and research scholar, I have personal knowledge of university life at Cambridge, Paris and Gõttingen (Germany). As a Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematics in the Banaras Hindu University, I was intimately connected with the Universities in Northern India, before I joined the Bombay Education Department in 1930. Since then I was nominated Fellow of the Bombay University till 1947

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when I became Director of Education of the Bombay State. As director, I have been officially connected with all the Universities of the Bombay State. Thus, I had the privilege of knowing intimately the measure of success with which most of the universities have been pursuing the aims and ideals of university education and the difficulties lying in the way of their full realisation.

Should I be elected as Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University, I would do my best towards developing the University as a fitting embodiment of the cultural aims and aspirations of the people living within the University region and as a living expression of the new ideology inspiring the educational world.

Your sincerely
Sd.
D. C. PAVATE

This pleased many people, who answered immediately that I could depend on their support. Some did not commit themselves. This did not surprise me. After all, an election is an election and no one could be quite sure. Misunderstanding and prejudice often suppress truth. Indeed I was prepared for any eventuality. There was a Professor of a private college for whom I had great respect as I used to meet him in Poona on social occasions. He wrote in reply that I was the most suitable person for the Vice-Chancellor's position and added that he would have gladly supported me but for the fact that he belonged to a party which was opposed to me. This was an eye-opener to me. That such a respectable scholar should belong to a party and do what it asks him to do in an election gave me a rude shock. Where was the need for parties in a University? University administration can't be run on party lines. I could have had no grievance if he had simply stated that he was not inclined to support me. That would have been understandable, for I was not going to pursue the matter and ask him why. But parties and party mandates were the bane of many a university in India. And I thought such parties should not be given an opportunity to thrive in a university. I have always held the view that universities should not have too many elections, for they are the breeding ground for parties and party-spirit.

XI. I retire from Government service.

The Government took my election to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University lightly as though it was one of the

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ordinary elections to the Senate or Syndicate. They would not think of allowing me to proceed on leave preparatory to retirement despite the approaching election which was seriously contested. The followers of my opponent naturally made capital of the situation and complained that I was taking undue advantage of my official position. I was not approaching anybody for a vote ; but they argued that somebody else was approaching the voters on my behalf. It was an anomalous position which I explained to Government and urged them to relieve me at the earliest possible moment. Government at long last agreed and relieved me of my office as Director of Education on 22nd June, whereas the election was to be on 26th June. I parted from the office of the D. P. I. with a lump in my throat. I had served in that office for more than eighteen years in various capacities, but now the time had come for taking leave. Shri S. S. Bhandarkar was to succeed me as Director and I was happy about it. In fact, I made him sit in my chair after handing over charge and said, "The King is dead; long live the King." Bhandarkar was a very dear friend of mine and I had induced him to take up an administrative post. Now he had blossomed into a Director of Education. When I saw him take my place I was overcome by a sense of pride and joy. For a Professor of English, the post of Director is not exactly a bed of roses, and I often wondered whether I had done the right thing in bringing him into the Director's office. He came off very well and gave a good account of himself, following the best traditions of the past.

When leaving the Director's room it occurred to me that I was the fifteenth Director since the Department had been started a hundred years before. I felt I had left my mark, too, in the Department as my distinguished predecessors had done. As I looked at the photographs of some of my predecessors, I was reminded of a song, "Old soldiers never die; they only fade away." The next two or three days were occupied in farewell parties organised by the Departmental officials and the Director's office. One officer said in a farewell party that the prestige of the Department had been considerably enhanced during my regime and as proof of that, he said that the Bombay Government never turned down my proposals at any time during the last eight years or so. That is true ; but Government once did try the experiment by turning down my proposal for the appointment of an officer to an executive post. This was perhaps done by the Secretariat office and the Secretary had merely signed. When the Government orders were received appointing somebody else as Administrative officer of the School Board concerned, I was naturally

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annoyed and rang up the Secretary immediately to say that I was not carrying out those orders. I told him that if he felt that my proposal was administratively unsound he had better discuss it with me and the Minister of Education and convince us about the soundness of his stand. Within four days, fresh orders of Government were received accepting my proposal!

Nothing pleases a retiring officer more than being told that he will be missed. It is just a man's vanity. When many officers said that to me, I thought it was just a polite platitude. One officer said that I had been everything to everybody. Such compliments are usually paid to retiring officers, to take off the bitterness of retirement. So I did not take them seriously; but I knew that some educational institutions, specially those run by the educationally backward communities like the Marathas and the Jains, would really miss me; for they somehow managed to get into trouble for lack of knowledge of Departmental rules and, for such technical mistakes, came in for reduction of grants and other penalties. In all such cases I used to condone the irregularities and warn them to be more careful in future, but no cut in their grants was made. In other words, I sincerely encouraged all institutions run in rural areas, which spread education among the masses. I always said that Departmental rules should be interpreted with sympathy and understanding. In my opinion, the cause of education was much more important than such technical rules and we should not be wooden in our treatment of men and institutions. That was how I was popular with all educational institutions, particularly those in Maharashtra. Some six months later, I had gone to the Minister of Education in the Council Hall, Bombay, and on coming out, happened to meet seven or eight M. L. As. from Satara and Ahmednagar districts. They were much overcome to see me and, almost with tears in their eyes, said, "Saheb, we have been missing you very much. We were so happy with you as the Head of the Education Department." Although the idea that some people were missing me pleased me much, I told them that my successor would do all they wanted, if they properly explained the case to him. The administration of one man cannot be the same as another's. We all have our points.

In retrospect, I feel that such success as I had in the Educational administration of the old Bombay State was largely due to the fact that I had some dependable officers under me who could be trusted with my confidential or complicated work. The mainstay of the office was Shri Y. D. Khan, former office Superintendent, who had been deservedly promoted to a post of Dy. D. P. I. after a long and

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meritorious service in that office. If there was any trouble with Government or any subordinate officer, he would smooth it out in no time compromising losing the prestige of the office. I had in Shri W. H. Golay, a reliable and efficient personal assistant who used to handle difficult and responsible cases for me. He was formerly a Lecturer in English in Gujarat College and was a seasoned officer. Then my stenographer the late Shri B. K. Khanvelkar who was also my personal assistant, did valuable work for me. He was such an obliging and efficient officer that after my retirement, I brought him to the Karnatak University, where he served as my Personal Assistant till he died a few years back.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN :

the Karnatak university

The election of the Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University was fixed at 3 p.m. on 26th June, 1954. I had no vote, as I had ceased to be connected with the University on my retirement as Director of Education a few days earlier. Even so, I thought I might be present at the time of the election and arrived a Dharwar from Poona by mail at 1 p.m. on that day. I was shocked to find the kind of canvassing that was going on. Almost all the usual election tactics had been adopted, and there was great excitement. The other party had put into service a large number of volunteers to go round to each member of the Senate. Nothing was left to chance. The rival candidate himself went from door to door, forgetting that he had been a District Collector a few years before. What was more intriguing and interesting was that a few of his friends were vigorously canvassing on his behalf on communal grounds, forgetting for the moment that the candidate they were backing had been one of the strongest anti-Brahmins all his life. Strange things happen at the time of elections, as there are hardly any real issues on which the elections are fought. My first reaction was that the Devil had specially created these elections to trap and humble the candidates. If I knew such an atmosphere would be created at the election of Vice-Chancellor, I would never have stood as a candidate ; for I have been a proud and self-respecting man and, to enter such a fray hat in hand for votes from all sorts of people after being Head of an Education Department for eight years, would be the greatest degradation I could think of. I had persuaded myself to believe that I had put myself up as a candidate in the public interest. In the first place, the Karnatak University during the past five years had given such a poor account of itself that it had become a butt of ridicule in Government circles. Secondly, I thought that, with my experience of educational administration, I should be able to build up the University on sound lines. Thirdly, as a man from the Karnatak, I was anxious to see that the cultural aims and aspirations of this part of the country were realised. The Government of

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Bombay was also of the same view. It hurt me, therefore, to see that a section of my own people did not want me. In fact, they had no idea of a University. For them, the University simply meant power and patronage. No civilized country in the world chooses the heads of its universities by such canvassing and voting as goes on in our country. That is why the Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education has recommended the election of a Vice-Chancellor by a small body like the Executive Council or Syndicate.

One hour before the election, Mr. Hulkoti, the retiring Vice-Chancellor, who was to preside, told a friend of mine, Shri S. N. Angadi, that I would be beaten by a large majority. He estimated that the rival candidate would poll at least thirty votes more than I would. So I was prepared for the worst. The election started at 3 p.m. and took about an hour and my friends noticed that Shri Hulkoti also exercised his right of vote, although as presiding officer, he was expected to remain neutral. Such, indeed, was the expectation of the rival candidate's success that many of his friends and admirers had brought with them garlands and bouquets for him. The candidate had gone to the University building, where the voting took place, to canvass to the last minute! I remained at home and did not move until the result was made known. At 4.30 p.m. a telephone message was received by me to the effect that I was elected with sixty-eight votes, while my opponent had polled only twenty-four. I was naturally excited. The election proved that a University is not the same thing as a Municipality. After all, more than 80% of the voters were highly educated people and could see for themselves which candidate was better suited to advance the interest of University education. Vigorous canvassing and communal jealousies might demoralise a few, but would not affect a large proportion of the members. I much appreciated the gesture of my opponent, who wrote a kind congratulatory letter to me immediately after the election. I replied thanking him for his courtesy and sportsmanship. The candidate had no grievance against me and would not ordinarily have stood against me. It appears that some Dharwar people, whom I had never offended, interested him in the election and gave a rosy picture of his chances. He had never been interested in education and, after his retirement from the Revenue Department, had comfortably settled down in Bombay. He was unnecessarily set up by these people for their own personal ends. Anyway, this was an experience for me, and I learnt some valuable lessons, which I would have missed had I remained in the ivory tower of official life under Government. Immediately after the election, I received numerous messages of congratulation and good wishes from

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various persons for the success of my new assignment. The atmosphere prevailing at the time can be imagined to some extent from the following letters which I received, arranged in chronological order :

'Matra-Smriti'
Law College Road, Poona 4,
28th June, 1954

My dear Pavate,

Heartiest congratulations on your open election to the Vice-Chancellorship of the Karnatak University. I am looking forward to rapid improvement of that University under your fostering care. To me personally it is a great pleasure that you are now in that responsible position. Anything I can do to help you in the matter, is at your disposal.

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely
Sd. M. R. JAYAKAR.

Minister for Cooperation
Government of Bombay,
28th June, 1954

My dear Shri Pavate,

I am very glad to learn that you have been elected as Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University with an overwhelming majority. You might have received my telegram congratulating you.

As a matter of fact, you ought to have been elected unanimously but it was not to be, on account of the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the Karnatak at present. However, the people of Karnatak have faith in you and expect that Karnatak will make rapid progress in the field of education under your guidance. I am sure their expectations will be fulfilled now.

Yours sincerely
Sd. M. P. Patil.

Minister of Law and Education,
Government of Bombay,
29th June, 1954

My dear Pavate,

My hearty congratulations on your election as Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University. It is not going to be a bed of roses. All the same, I am sure with your wide experience you will be able to do a lot for the development of the University as well as the academic tradition

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in the Karnatak area. I wish you success in your new work as Vice-Chancellor.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely
Sd. Dinkarrao N. Desai.

Dy. Minister for Home Affairs,
Government of India, New Delhi,
July 3, 1954

My dear Shri Pavate,

I was happy to learn the other day that the Senate of the Karnatak University had elected you to be the next Vice-Chancellor thereof. I congratulate the Senate as also you on this very wise decision. You have got considerable administrative experience in the educational field as Director of Education, Bombay State. This, I am sure, will stand you in good stead in running the Karnatak University administration.

Now that the first five years have been over, it is necessacy for the Karnatak University to take a wider outlook and to introduce new courses of study. I am hoping that you will make the University a model one, not only in the Bombay State, but in India as a whole. I am sure, you will get the necessary cooperation from the Senators, the members of the Academic Council and in particular the members of the Syndicate. We should have not only a smooth administration, but also a progressive one.

Some months ago, I had a talk with the Minister of Education in Bombay State. I am hoping that, under the new regime, the Government of Bombay will have no grounds for any complaints whatsoever. Let the relations with Government be smooth and satisfactory.

Consistently with my official position here, I shall be happy to help you to the fullest extent possible in placing the Karnatak University on a very prominent place on the map of India. It should be your mission not only to attract the best intellects in Karnatak, but also those from other parts of India as well. This is the seat of learning, where all differences have to vanish and all of us have to worship before the shrine of the Goddess of Learning. You have my good wishes for the success of the new role which you have been persuaded to pursue and which I am sure, will enhance the reputation not only of the Karnatak University but of Karnatak as a whole.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely
Sd. B. N. Datar.

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Bombay, 17th July, 1954.

My dear Pavate,

I have just seen the Governor's letter confirming your election as Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University. This must have already been brought to your notice. I have hitherto refrained from tendering my formal congratulations till you were firmly in the saddle. I would like you to know how happy I am on your election to this high office, to which I have no doubt you will bring grace and distinction.

I would also like to take this opportunity of expressing my personal appreciation of the unfailing cooperation that you extended me in solving the problems of the Department, which you served so well.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely
Sd. A. L. Dias,
(Secretary to Government,
Dept. of Education, Bombay).

I also received a similar letter from the Bombay University, congratulating me on my election and thanking me for the services I had rendered to it, as a member of the Syndicate in my official capacity.

The excitement of the election was over within a week and I had to settle down to my new duties and responsibilities. My family was still at Poona. Having stayed there for twenty years, it was not easy to leave Poona immediately. During that period, we had made many friends and naturally had to attend several parties given in our honour. Moreover, the house built for the Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University was not quite ready for us. So, for a couple of months, we remained at Poona, but I used to come to Dharwar occasionally. I took charge of my new office on the 16th July, 1954 and after that I began to apply my mind to the problem of bringing 'grace and distinction' to my office. Broadly speaking, I had to grapple with the following problems :

1. To put down parties in the University based on caste and community ;
2. To improve its relations with the Government ;
3. To undertake a large-scale building programme for class-rooms, library, laboratories, teachers' quarters, halls of residence, etc ;
4. To develop the existing postgraduate departments of the University and to start new ones ; and
5. To improve the standard of education and encourage research.

The last is the most important function of any university ; for that,

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a congenial atmosphere has to be created in the university. Hence the necessity of the first. During the last thirty-five years, I have seen many universities in India, whose work has been vitiated by internal politics. During the first two years the Karnatak University had no trouble. Shri Jahagirdar was mainly concerned with the drafting of the provisional Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations, under the provisions of the Karnatak University Act, on the model of the Bombay University. This was done by an Advisory Committee. There was hardly any politics during his time, but a first class controversy arose, even then, regarding the University. The Senate was divided into two groups, one holding the view that the University office and the postgraduate departments should be located on the site of the Karnatak College, while the other group wanted an independent campus for the University on the hill known as Chota-Mahabaleshwar, some distance from the town and the college. The Bombay Government had originally planned to have even the Karnatak College on this hill, which provided an excellent site for educational activities. This controversy raged for many months. The Bombay Government was surprised at the lack of vision of the group that favoured concentration of university buildings on or near the premises of the Karnatak College. The site of the College was not sufficient even for its own growth, and it was difficult to visualise how the University could expand to meet the growing needs of the future, on that site. Shri Kher was anxious to give 350 acres of land on the hill free of cost and yet these people were not willing to accept it. As D. P. I. of Bombay State, I had been asked to examine another proposal, of locating the Karnatak University midway between Dharwar and Hubli. I had sent my report not favouring the proposal. I thought the Chhota-Mahabaleshwar hill was an excellent site from every point of view. When the question came up before the Senate, the Senate, after a heated debate, decided by a majority of one to have the university campus on Chhota-Mahabaleshwar!

Real politics, however, developed during the regime of the next Vice-Chancellor, Shri C. C. Hulkoti; for his election had been made possible by the support of a party which consisted of a few teachers-mostly Lecturers and Demonstrators of colleges. The object of this party was to seize power and distribute patronage among its members. Nothing could have been dearer to the hearts of the teachers; for in the Bombay University, they wouldn't have had an opportunity of obtaining examinerships. Although Shri Hulkoti didn't entirely heed the advice of this party, he had to give in occasionally; so, in course of time, the party gathered strength and importance.

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Unfortunately, none of them had any experience of University administration and their objective was mainly self-aggrandizement. Shri Hulkoti's own behaviour in the University meetings also left much to be desired. He didn't understand educational problems and couldn't give any lead in the solution of controversial problems. Some people took delight in spreading rumours about his private character. This did more harm to the University than to Shri Hulkoti, who was an able lawyer and knew how to defend himself in case the need arose. It is far easier to create a prejudice against a public institution than help develop good traditions. That is what exactly happened in the early stage of this university. Hardly a week passed without some letter or editorial or a paragraph under current topics appearing in *The Times of India*, on the affairs of the Karnatak University. These articles were based on highly exaggerated and prejudiced reports sent by the interested ; but Shri Hulkoti did not care to contradict them. The result was that an impression was created among the public, particularly in Government circles in Bombay, that something, perhaps everything, was wrong with the Karnatak University. The University had become a shambles and one of my first duties was to extricate it from that position. The root cause of all this was the existence of a strong party out to capture power. I had seen such parties even in Bombay University, but they consisted of seasoned persons who would not cause much damage to the reputation of the University. Here, the party consisted essentially of small men with little or no experience of University affairs. That made all the difference. This is precisely the difficulty encountered by some new Universities in India.

Before coming to Dharwar, I called at the office of the *Times of India* and saw the General Manager. I told him that he should give instructions to his office not to publish any complaints that he might receive against my University, without verifying the facts. I said, "This does not mean that I am asking you to suppress facts. Very often there are garbled or exaggerated accounts which do a lot of damage to public institutions. All that I am asking you to do is to refer such complaints to me and hear my side also. Then you are free to do anything you like. The fourth estate is a powerful instrument in doing good as well as harm to the nation, and I should like you to have a constructive attitude in regard to educational institutions." I do not knew what effect my suggestions had on the General Manager, but the fact remains that there has been no adverse report or comment in *The Times of India*.

When I first addressed the Senate as Vice-Chancellor I made

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it abundantly clear that, in my regime, everything would be decided on its own merit and that we should all bend our energies to creating a good name for our University. At that time, Shri V. K. Gokak was Principal of the Karnatak College and he was a tower of strength to me. I hardly did anything without consulting him and his advice was always sound and practical. Similarly, Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Basaveshwar College, Bagalkot, acquainted me with the weak spots in the administration and the problems I would encounter. With the cooperation of these and many other good friends who were anxious to help me, I was able to create a good atmosphere in the University within about six months of my taking over. The party system ceased to work in the University, as no member of any party gained any particular advantage. In the following year, there was a general election of Senate members and some of the trouble-makers were not elected at all. Thus the party which had created so much trouble in Hulkoti's time disappeared altogether.

Parties in a University flourish if the majority of the Senate and Syndicate members try to grab everything for themselves or their friends. Democracy does not and should not mean that all the plums should go to the majority or the ruling party, even under Government. The ruling party should only be responsible for policy-making, leaving the details of administration in the hands of permanent officers. In my experience, the Congress Government in the old Bombay State rarely interested themselves in appointments and transfers or any patronage which was not consistent with public interest. Following this policy, I gradually developed the tradition that the Syndicate should only concern itself with matters of general interest. This naturally made a great impression on the members of the Senate, specially when they saw for themselves that all communities and other interests got a fair deal.

One reason why the teachers often get demoralised is their status in society ; and the status is invariably equated with the salary. I have often wondered in my life why only one section of the society should be called upon to live on a totally inadequate income, when some of the brainiest men are required in the teaching profession at each stage. We keep saying that on the type of education we impart to our young men and women depends the fate of our country. And yet we see miserable conditions of living for the teaching profession. Compare the salary scales of Primary teachers, Secondary teachers and University teachers with those available in European countries, and we see how miserable is the position of the teachers in our country. In England a Professor is in receipt of a salary of

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£3500 p. a. (about Rs. 4000 p. m.) which compares favourably with that of a Civil servant. I once asked a professor in Paris what his social position was like in France. He swelled with pride as he said that his position was the same as that of a General in the army. In Germany, Professors are much better off than any other public servant. Broadly speaking, professors, scientists and engineers form the aristocratic class in most European countries including Russia. True, India is a poor country and we cannot afford to pay high salaries to our public servants. What I should like to see is that the Professors should be in the same grade as, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Generals in the army and the highest officers in the Civil service. And conversely, I should like to see that the Professors are of the same intellectual calibre as the highest officers in the Civil service. Although the University Grants Commission has upgraded the salaries of the Professors, much remains still to be done in this direction. Karnatak University is one of the few Universities in India to have adopted the salary scales suggested by the University Grants Commission from time to time. I have always believed in paying teachers well and expecting them not to bother about any sort of politics. Whenever a new teacher is appointed in the University, I advise him to mind his students and research and leave the politics to us. This has had a salutary effect on the morale of the teaching staff in the University. This does not mean that all the teachers enjoy this bargain. Some are born politicians and must follow their bent even in the teaching profession. I remember the case of a Professor who was unhappy for want of politics in my University. His services were loaned to this University for a period of five years by another University and, although we decided to continue him after the expiry of the period, he insisted on going back to his own University in his old grade, though it resulted in a loss of about Rs. 300 p. m. but he did not mind it. Politics seems to have been more interesting to him than a higher salary. By and large, however, the teaching staff is quite content with its lot, given good salary, a a good library, research facilities, and an honourable treatment. In this connection, I should like to record my appreciation of the Mysore Government's action in sanctioning the same salary scales to teachers in private colleges as in Government colleges. It was not so in Bombay, at any rate, during my time. So, on the whole, we have done quite a lot to improve the position of the teaching staff in this university. And that is one of the stabilising factors in a University. All these measures have made for contentment and efficiency and most of the teachers are not in the least interested in politics and the like. There

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is hardly any canvassing now in the various elections to University bodies. Very often a comparatively junior person becomes in this University, Dean of Faculty; for the senior persons are more interested in their research and teaching duties and do not care for such offices.

The question of improvement of relations between the University and the Government did not present serious difficulty. My own relations with the Bombay Government were extremely happy and cordial. Everybody, from the Chief Minister down to the Secretary to Government in the Education Department, wished me well in my task, which they considered to be particularly difficult in view of the communal animus sometimes noticeable in this part of the country. Owing to our long connection, Shri Dinkerrao Desai, Education Minister, was very friendly to me, and I could depend on him to stretch a point in my favour any time. The Bombay Government was thoroughly impartial in its financial aid to all the three new regional Universities—Gujarat, Poona and Karnatak. They made a budget provision of Rs. 4 lakhs recurring and Rs. 4 lakhs non-recurring to each of these Universities in the first year. The other Universities made use of the provision and drew the amounts before the end of the financial year. Unfortunately, our first Vice-Chancellor, Shri R. A. Jahagirdar, did not care to draw the amounts provided in the budget, and that in spite of my suggesting to him to draw them and keep them in the bank. Since he did not draw them except for Rs. 1 lakh, the remaining amount of Rs. 7 lakhs lapsed, resulting in a serious loss to the university; for, the Government later reduced the maintenance grant to Rs. 35 lakhs and did not sanction any fixed non-recurring grant, since the university did not seem to be in a position to need it until its plans and estimates for the building programme were ready. The grants made by the State Government to the University were, therefore, confined to Rs. 3.5 lakhs, sometimes further reduced to Rs. 34 lakhs. Until I took over, I must say, the Bombay Government was niggardly in its financial help to its universities. When the Bombay University was its only university, it didn't matter much, as it had sufficient funds from the examinations. But when three other universities came into being, they should have revised the basis of grant-in-aid to the universities. They sanctioned a recurring grant of between 4 and 5 lakhs, non-recurring grants being sanctioned only on the basis of the plans and estimates approved. Owing to the strained relations between the Bombay Government and the Karnatak University at the time, nobody took up the question of adequate grants to the university with Government. The

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Poona University had possession of the Government House at Ganeshkhind and was, therefore, not in a desperate need of funds for its building programme. The Gujarat and Karnatak Universities had to start from scratch and were, therefore, in need of non-recurring grants on a substantial basis for the development of their campus.

When I came to Dharwar as Vice-Chancellor, there was neither an engineer nor an architect to advise the University on technical questions. While the first Vice-Chancellor had finally settled the controversy about the campus, my immediate predecessor, Shri Hulkoti, had put up an administrative building and about eight residential buildings for the university officers and the staff, on the campus at a total cost of about Rs. 7 lakhs, during the previous three years. His engineering adviser had been a Professor of civil engineering in the Bhomaraddi Engineering College, Hubli. There were five postgraduate departments—Physics (Spectroscopy), Statistics, Chemistry (Organic), Kannada and Geology, which were run on a very small scale, with a total enrolment of sixty-five students. The postgraduate classes were held in a part of the Government Training College building, which had housed the Karnatak College at the initial stage about thirty-five years before. Most of the available space was used for the small laboratories and the library and the single class-room was used by the departments by turns. I soon realised that the one great need of the University was a spacious building which would be able to house the existing postgraduate departments as well as those which would be started in the immediate future. For the preparation of plans and estimates what I needed at once was an architect and, in consultation with the Government Architect, Bombay, I proposed that Messrs. Patki and Dadarkar be appointed as our Architects. The proposal was accepted by the Syndicate, and I asked them to prepare plans and estimates for a spacious three-floor stone building, with a clock-tower, which would meet our immediate and future requirements in class-rooms, library and laboratories. The Architects produced the necessary drawings, plans and estimates in about four months and the building was estimated to cost about Rs. 35 lakhs. It was an E-shaped building with a frontage, 600 feet long, running from south to north, with wings at the extremeties 150 feet in length, and a Convocation hall 200 feet long, protruding from the middle, behind, parallel to the two wings. At the time, we thought that it would be a gigantic building and would meet all our requirements for about twenty-five years. The next question was to appoint an engineering staff for the supervision of the works. A retired P. W. D. Engineer, Shri R. L. Deshpande,

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had been appointed as Resident Engineer by my predecessor, but, as he did not hit it off with the Vice-Chancellor, he had resigned within a couple of months. I appointed him again as Resident Engineer and also some Overseers and clerical staff with P. W. D. experience. Only one Overseer was a fresh recruit; the others were all retired Government servants. This was necessary, as I wanted them to follow strictly the P. W. D. procedure, to avoid audit objections. The next thing was how to raise funds to the tune of Rs. 30 lakhs. Since my taking over, I had been toying with the idea of a small building costing about Rs. 10 lakhs. Even this modest amount was unthinkable for the then Registrar, Shri M. S. Bagali. He was a retired District Judge and extremely cautious and conservative. When I told him I was thinking of constructing a building for the postgraduate classes immediately at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs, he said, "Sir, where are the funds to come from? Our balance in the bank is not more than 4 lakhs. Government aid is slow to come by." I didn't take serious notice of his warning about a financial crisis. I simply said, "To find funds for the university is my headache and not yours." I was quite sure that I would obtain the funds I needed for the development of the university. I had written to Government to help us immediately with a non-recurring grant of Rs. 10 lakhs; but the Secretary to Government, Shri A. L. Dias, also cautioned me against going too fast. His idea was that we should go slow in regard to the building programme, the expenditure not exceeding Rs. 3 or 4 lakhs per annum. The Gujarat University was already going ahead with its huge building costing about Rs. 30 lakhs; but this University, owing largely to its internal squabbles, had not shown any imagination in preparing its plans. So I was anxious to make up for the lost time and determined to have a massive building costing about Rs. 30 lakhs which would meet at least our immediate requirements. I went to Bombay and saw the Education Minister. I asked him to assure us a non-recurring grant of Rs. 30 lakhs spread over some 3 or 4 years to enable me to undertake the construction of a comprehensive building which would accommodate all the postgraduate departments, etc. He hesitated, as the policy of his Government so far had been niggardly towards University education. He asked why I should not be satisfied with a number of smaller buildings each costing about 3 or 4 lakhs. I pointed out that the Gujarat University had already embarked on the construction of a huge building also costing about Rs. 30 lakhs. Shri Dinkarrao Desai was a Gujarati, and he could not refuse to the Karnatak University what had been allowed to the Gujarat Univer-

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sity. This did the trick. He asked me whether the plans and estimates were ready. I showed him the necessary plans and he was quite impressed. To cut discussion short, I said, "I must have Government's assurance to finance this scheme and, what is more, you must lay the foundation-stone of the new building within a month or two." He agreed to do so with a promise to bear at least Rs. 25 lakhs of the project. Actually, the Gujarat University had started its building without any assurance that the total cost on it would be met by Government. Now I made sure of it, for the Gujarat as well as the Karnatak University! for, in the Government resolution that issued on the subject, Government agreed to pay each of the two Universities a non-recurring grant of Rs. 5 lakhs per annum towards the cost of the buildings. This, of course, met my point and enabled me to go ahead. I was jubilant over the initial success of my scheme. This may appear to be a trifle in the present circumstances, but it was a huge amount at the initial stage. Meantime, the University Grants Commission which had recently come into existence, sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the construction of laboratories. We had not even asked for it, being under the impression that the sole function of the University Grants Commission was to look after the Central Universities for the financing of which the Government of India was responsible.

Following the example of Britain, the Government of India had formed, in 1945, a University Grants Committee to deal solely with the then existing three Central Universities—Aligarh, Banaras and Delhi. Later in 1951, Vishwa Bharati was recognised as a University under the supervision of the Central Government. Now, on the recommendation of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission, the Government of India, had in 1953, created by an Act of Parliament, the present University Grants Commission and charged it with the responsibility of maintaining an adequate standard of education in all Universities. For the first two or three years, the Secretary to Government in the Education Department of the Government of India, was ex-officio Chairman of the Commission, and, with the limited funds at its disposal, the Commission was not able to aid the State Universities. Even so, some funds were sanctioned to this University during the period of the First Five-Year Plan. The Commission only began to function vigorously and to aid all the Universities on a generous scale under the distinguished chairmanship of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh during the Second Plan period. So we were pleasantly surprised at the unexpected grant of Rs. 3 lakhs to this University at a time when I was struggling hard for funds. My plan for a composite

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building to accommodate all disciplines had been formulated in the belief that we would be able to secure the necessary funds from the Bombay Government and public donations. I did collect a certain amount by touring in the districts; but the amounts collected were in thousands and not in lakhs as required by us. I recall with gratitude a small but generous donation by Sir Jamshetji Jeejibhoy of Bombay. We were both Trustees of the Deccan College, Poona, and, on receipt of a letter from me, he immediately paid an amount of Rs. 10,000. According to the Lokur Committee, we were to collect an amount of Rs. 10 lakhs, while the Government was to sanction Rs. 30 lakhs to put the university on its feet. There was at first a lot of goodwill towards this University in Government circles, as Shri B. G. Kher, the then Chief Minister of Bombay, was well inclined towards this part of the State. If somebody with scholarship, vision and ability like Shri V. K. R. V. Rao had been appointed the first Vice-Chancellor, as Shri Kher had intended to do, the University would have been put on its feet in two or three years. The men who actually occupied the position of Vice-Chancellor during the first five years, were not able to achieve substantial results, being men with little academic experience. My responsibility was, therefore, very great, as I did not want to be a failure. Indeed, I have always boasted that I have never been a failure in any responsible position I have occupied; but here was a test of my creative ability. In the first instance, I had to create goodwill towards this University in the Bombay Government as well as in the general public. I had already succeeded in this in a large measure, but when it appeared that we could tap the resources of the U. G. C. as well for the fulfilment of our aims and objectives, I thought I had already won the first round.

The Education Minister of the Bombay Government laid the foundation-stone of the proposed building on 25th January, 1955, about six months from the date of assumption of my duties as Vice-Chancellor. An imposing function was organised on the occasion. I admit we must have spent more than Rs. 2000 for the purpose; but it was worth it. The general public of Dharwar and Hubli, as well as Government circles, realised thereafter that we were in dead earnest about our development plans and that the Karnatak University would never lag behind the others in all progressive measures.

We had, however, to cross many hurdles before the completion of the proposed building. The experience I had of construction was confined to buildings for Primary schools, for about two years and a half, when I was Educational Inspector, Central division, Poona. There, of course, the Executive Engineer of the District and the D. L. B.

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Engineer were responsible for the actual construction of the works. Here, everything seemed to hinge on my initiative and drive. Nothing would seem to move without close supervision on my part. Fortunately, I had a very reliable Engineer in Shri R. L. Deshpande, although he seemed to quarrel with everybody except myself. He carried out all my orders loyally and efficiently. The contract was given to Mysore Engineers, as their tender was the lowest. The University Engineer and the contractors clashed almost every day. One of my duties, every day was to settle their differences and smooth out the way for the contractors to go on with their work. The Architects were in Bombay and, under the terms of agreement, they were to visit the campus once a month, inspect the work carried out so far, and give instructions on any specific points requiring the Attention of the con-Tactors. But, within a month, a number of fresh points would arise and if we were to wait till the arrival of the architects next month, the work wouldn't make much headway. Shri Deshpande would not take the responsibility upon himself. After hearing his point of view and that of the contractors, I used to give a decision based on common sense. Only in a few difficult cases did we wait till the Architects came. Fortunately for me, an ad-hoc building committee had been appointed by the Syndicate under the Chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor and it was responsible for taking all decisions in connection with the buildings. The local Superintending Engineer, an Executive Engineer and the Electrical Engineer attached to the Hubli division, are members of this committee and have been doing valuable work for the University. We depend on them for technical advice and the Resident Engineer of the University is in constant touch with the Superintending Engineer whenever any major difficulties arise. The decisions taken by this committee go to the Syndicate for formal sanction.

The first hurdle in the progress of the work was the disapproval of the Badami stones by the Resident Engineer on the ground that all the stones were not of the same colour. The contractors, on the other hand, held that, even from the same quarry, it was impossible to obtain stones of the same colour. A serious controversy arose. The Architects were sent for, as it was fairly obvious that the Badami stones would look shabby after a few years. So, on their recommendation, the Building Committee accepted the proposal of the Mysore Engineers to use white Doddballapur granite stone. To reduce the heavy cost of bringing the stones from a long distance, it was decided to construct the building with locally made brick, with a veneering of Doddballapur stone. Nearly six months passed before this decision was

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taken and meanwhile the construction work was at a stand-still. Even then a small portion already constructed up to plinth level had to be demolished. Thus work started in right earnest only in May, 1956, although the foundation-stone had been laid more than a year before. I supervised the work personally every day at least two hours in the morning till the completion of the building. In course of time, I began to understand even the technical details and was in a position to give decisions on minor issues without consulting the Architects. So much time was saved. Great indeed was the urgency of the building; for, without it, we could not implement our schemes of expansion at all. The Mysore Engineers put at least two of their technical men on the job and two members of our technical staff supervised the work constantly. The Mysore Engineers, of course, had an eye to their profits, while our Resident Engineer, Shri Deshpande, looked after the interests of the University. My own anxiety was to see that the work was not held up on minor issues. On one occasion, I noticed that the supporting columns on the first floor were reduced in size and I was anxious to know the reason. The contractors' engineer was not able to satisfy my curiosity, neither was the university engineer. The Architects had inspected the work twice and had not noticed it. I did not really think there was anything the matter. I simply wanted to know the reason for reducing the size of the load-bearing column. Then the University engineer had a closer look at the plans and found that the columns were to be of uniform size right up to the second floor. They all profusely apologised for the mistake, but I still do not know the contractor's motive in reducing the size. One has to be very careful in the supervision of the construction works. The Architects who inspected the work had also not noticed it.

By June 1958, the Physics and Chemistry Departments were shifted from the Training College building to the ground floor of the University building on the campus. This was a great relief to the post-graduate departments. Similarly, we shifted the other departments to the first floor, Geology on one side, History and Economics on the other. By that time, almost all the Departments in the Humanities and Social Sciences had been started—English, Sanskrit, Sociology, Politics, Anthropology and Philosophy. On the Science side, we added Inorganic and Physical Chemistry, Nuclear and Radio Physics, Botany, Zoology and Mathematics. All these Departments would be accommodated in the new building. One wing, running from east to west and consisting of two floors, was intended for the Library. That was ready during the year 1958, while the tower was completed by the end of June, 1959. By that time, the University

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Grants Commission had paid about Rs. 20 lakhs for the construction of the building, and the rest was met from grants made by the State Government at the rate of Rs. 5 lakhs per annum. We now wanted the building to be formally opened, and the Syndicate decided that it should be opened by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. The building was intended to be divided equally between the Humanities and Social Sciences on one side and the Physical Sciences on the other. I wanted to have four sculptured reliefs of two inspiring personalities representing the Humanities on one side of the frontispiece and two personalities representing the Sciences on the other. After giving careful thought to this question, I had the figures of Kittur Channamma and Sarvajna on one side, and of Bhaskaracharya, the great Indian mathematician of the 12th century, and Einstein, the author of the Relativity Theory, on the other. The following extract from Dr. Deshmukh's speech gives his estimate of the massive building, already costing Rs. 27 lakhs. Two more wings originally contemplated were yet to be constructed.

"I extend felicitations to all concerned with the construction of this impressive first symbol of the progress of the university—this composite building. Those who conceived of it and those who helped to build it are the architects, the engineers—both the outside and the local engineers—and the contractors, who have unfortunately lost money on the job. I should like to add that they have done a very good job of it. I have gone through the details of the building and, applying the standards by which we judge the economic aspects of University buildings, I find that the building has 70% effective area, which is a very good percentage. It has corridors of 8 feet wide which is just sufficient for their purpose, some corridors are 10 feet wide, which is a waste of space. There is no doubt a small extra expenditure on a tower amounting to Rs. 3 lakhs, but 3 lakhs in 24 lakhs is not a great matter. In any case, the total cost works out to Rs. 24 per square foot of plinth area, which is low as compared with many other parts of the country for such types of public buildings. From this point of view, I think this is a very economically built building. The granite has been brought from 250 miles away, which shows great care in the choice of material. Much work has gone into the embelishments which are very interesting. The sculptured reliefs on the front show many an inspiring personality. First of all, there is a renowned heroine of Karnatak to remind you of the State's great historical past. Then there is your own Kannada poet Sarvajna—I hope you will all emulate him. Mathematics was the first department to be started in the University, and it is only right, therefore, that Bhaskaracharya and Leelavati should be there on

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the panel. Then the great scientist Einstein with the equation $E=mc^2$ is carved on another panel—a noble example. Architecturally the building is very satisfying and I have great pleasure in congratulating everyone who has had a share in its construction. I shall conclude by expressing the hope that it will fulfil your highest expectations."

When the Second Five-year Plan was launched in 1956, the University Grants Commission approved all the schemes of development at 2/3rds of the approved expenditure in the case of buildings and equipment, and at half the recurring expenditure on the additional staff appointed. All additional expenditure on the development of the University Library was met by the U. G. C. The U. G. C. also suggested improved salary scales to the teaching staff, and 80% of the additional expenditure was to be borne by it. This was a great relief to the Universities. Even so, many Universities hesitated to go in for expansion and to adopt the revised salary scales for Professors, Readers and Lecturers. This University, however, accepted all these proposals. The snag was that the U. G. C. grants were guaranteed only for a period of five years in respect of recurring expenditure. What would happen after five years? The idea was that the State Government should undertake the responsibility of bearing all the additional expenditure, by including it in its development schemes for Education in the next plan. If the State Government would not do it, what would happen to the extra staff employed and the higher scales of salary introduced? These were the doubts entertained by some Universities. The fear in the minds of the Universities was that their State Governments might not agree to meet the additional expenditure for the purpose; but the Mysore Government has been very fair to the Universities and there was no trouble about the matching funds required. Now all the schemes of development are sanctioned by the University Grants Commission after a preliminary discussion with the representatives of the State Government.

In 1956, the area alloted to my university merged in the Mysore State as a result of the reorganisation of the States in India on a linguistic basis. We became part of the Mysore State from 1st November, 1956, and since then we have had four different Education Ministers to deal with for our finances. They have all been sympathetic to our schemes of development and made liberal provision in their budget for both our recurring and non-recurring expenditure. The first Education Minister we had to deal with under the Mysore Government was Shri Kadidal Manjappa. Most of the Ministers were strangers to me, except the Chief Minister, Shri Nijalingappa and Shri M. P. Patil. In Bombay, the Ministers knew me very well

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and there was no difficulty in dealing with them. Furthermore, all the Secretaries to Government in Bombay were seasoned senior I. C. S. officers, while it was not so in Mysore. The Chief Secretary, Shri P. V. R. Rao, was the only I. C. S. officer and the rest were all junior I. A. S. officers. I knew the Chief Secretary very well, as he had been Secretary for a short while to the Education Department of Bombay Government, when I was D. P. I. My first contact with Shri Kadidal Manjappa was in the first week of November, 1956. I had to get some provisions of the Karnatak University Act amended immediately, as a result of the reorganisation of the States. I was seeing him in his chambers, when his Education Secretary was also present, but I noticed to my amazement that all the talking was done by the Secretary as though the Minister was of no consequence. According to the Civil Service conventions, this is considered to be very ill-mannered. In the presence of his Minister, the Secretary is expected to keep quiet, unless the Minister wants some information. So I was annoyed at his impudence and told him I had come to talk with the Minister and not with him. I said, "If the Minister wants some information from you, you should, of course, give it to him. Do not monopolise all the conversation ignoring both the Minister and me." This had the desired effect, and he did not do much talking after that !

By the end of the Second Five-year Plan, the University had made sufficient advancement. The number of postgraduate students exceeded a thousand, and the demand was increasing. The number of students admitted to postgraduate studies in Chemistry, Statistics, Physics and Geology was quite large compared with the well-established older universities. We had to provide laboratory facilities to all the students and I estimate that nearly a crore of rupees must have been spent on our development schemes during the six years after I came to Dharwar as Vice-Chancellor.

On the eve of the merger of this area in Mysore State, the old Bombay Government transferred to the University the Kannada Postgraduate Research Institute, Dharwar. This was started in 1938 by the first Provincial Congress Government of Bombay as a counterpart, on a small scale, of the Poona Deccan College Research Institute. Its three departments—Kannada, Sociology and Archaeology—which for want of funds were languishing under the Bombay Government, have since been developed. Our Department of Social Anthropology enjoys a great reputation and has attracted even a few foreign students. We have constructed a big museum in which we have stored all the Archaeological pieces of the Institute ; the Departments of Indian History and Archaeology are also housed in it. The Kannada,

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Sociology, Social Anthropology, Politics, History and Economics Departments have been working on many research schemes of their own as well as of the Government of India. The University Post-graduate library is a general one, including all the subjects studied in the university and contains about 80,000 books and 1000 periodicals. It provides reading accommodation for 200 students. The work of our Librarian, Shri K. S. Deshpande, has been appreciated by many prominent educationists. We have built up a certain amount of reputation as a progressive university within a few years of my taking over as Vice-Chancellor.

In the intake of students, we are not parochial. We have post-graduate students from several States of India, although the majority of them are from Mysore State. The postgraduate teachers also come from all parts of the country. We try to avoid inbreeding, on both educational and administrative grounds.

In 1958, the Mysore Government handed over the management of the Karnatak College to the University. Till then, the University was only concerned with postgraduate teaching and research. All the undergraduate teaching was done by the affiliated colleges. To maintain a proper standard of teaching, the university thought it necessary to run a college of its own. This position was fully appreciated by the then Minister of Education, Hon'ble Shri Annarao Ganamukhi. The Government of Mysore had far too many colleges of their own which maintained different standards of education. Adequate staffing has been one of the great problems in the Government colleges in the University area. So we suggested to the Mysore Government to transfer the management of Karnatak College to us, which they did on the basis of a block grant based on the actual expenditure of the last three years. Now this College has been split up into two colleges—Arts and Science, each with about eight-hundred students, the maximum allowed by the University. We have provided for compulsory tutorials, to a great extent and individual attention is paid to students. This has been made possible by staffing the two colleges on a liberal basis. The student-teacher ratio in these colleges is now 12 : 1 whereas the ideal towards which the other colleges in India are striving is 20 : 1. We have constructed a separate building for the teaching staff of the colleges at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs, with separate rooms for the teachers in which they can do their reading and research, and meet their students. Now each member of the college staff—whether a Lecturer or a Professor—has a room of his own.

Dharwar is a small town with acute shortage of accommodation

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for students. Since we have more than twelve hundred postgraduate students and about sixteen hundred undergraduate students in the Karnatak Arts and Science colleges, the construction of halls of residence for students is one of the main items in our development programme. During the Second Five-year Plan period, we constructed on the university campus, a hall of residence, known as Nijalingappa Hall, to accommodate two hundred and eighty students at a cost of Rs. 11 lakhs. We also had another hall constructed for the Karnatak colleges for one hundred and twenty students at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs. Two more halls are under construction, which together will accommodate about four hundred students. We have also started a College of Education and another for Law, in addition to postgraduate departments in those subjects. The college of Education was started at the instance of the Mysore Government as they were in need of more trained teachers. Law is one of the sadly neglected subjects, at least in this part of the country, and is taken only by those who are employed during the day. So in most of the Law colleges in India, classes are held either in the morning or in the evening. To provide sound education in Law to serious students, the University started the Law College in 1962, with a good staff. The College is able to pay individual attention to students and make them work regularly and in earnest. With all these developments, the number of postgraduate departments run by the University has risen from 5 in 1954-55 to 22, while the number of constituent colleges (i. e. colleges maintained by the University) to four as against nil. The number of students doing research for the doctorate is more than a hundred. These developments have increased the annual recurring expenditur from Rs. 9.18 lakhs in 1954-55, to about Rs. 60 lakhs.

No University can successfully arrest the falling-off in the standards of education with the phenomenal rise in the number of students everywhere in the country. This does not and should not, however, mean that the Universities are not making efforts to maintain the standards as high as possible in the circumstances. The difficulties of my own University in maintaining high standards have been enormous ; still, we are managing to keep our head well above the surface. First of all, the abolition of English in Middle school in the Bombay State had a devastating effect on the teaching in our colleges. A student joining college had done English in the Secondary school for only four years and was unable to follow the lectures which had to be delivered in English. We could have made the Regional language the medium of instruction, but the teachers are not accustomed to teaching through it. Moreover, we would

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have been required to teach and examine students in different languages—English, Kannada, Marathi, Telugu and Urdu. We have in our area three districts of the old Hyderabad State, in which, in addition to Kannada and Marathi, Telugu and Urdu are spoken. It is not possible for a college to teach through two or three languages. Nor is it possible for the University to have its examinations in five different languages. The best we could do in the circumstances was to suggest to the colleges to try and explain in the regional language as well as in English, in the initial stage. The most important thing is to see that the students understand the subject-matter. Towards that objective, small classes of about ten or fifteen students are organised during the first and second years of college, in which the teachers can attend to the difficulties of the students both in comprehension and composition. Also, during the first six months of the first year, some training is given in spoken and written English. With compulsory tutorials in all subjects, the students gradually pick up English and are able to express themselves freely in English in the course of two years. What we do in the first two years of college is really work which should have been done in school, as in other countries, but in this country it becomes part of college work. The large percentage of failures in the universities is generally accounted for by the results of the first two years. Secondly, the dearth of capable and experienced teachers makes it extremely difficult for colleges to maintain a high standard. Some old and well-established colleges do not experience much difficulty in this; but the number of new colleges is rapidly increasing everywhere, and they can find experienced teachers, if at all, only at the cost of the old colleges. As far as my own University is concerned, during the last nine years, ending 30th June, 1964, twenty-eight new colleges have sprung into existence. How is it possible to staff them adequately? In particular, a good deal of damage has been done to professional education by the rapid increase in the number of engineering and medical colleges, which are not adequately staffed for want of qualified and experienced teachers. It is true that we must provide university education for all those who are capable of benefiting from it, but this capacity is measured in our country simply by a Pass in the Secondary School Certificate examination. Actually, more than 50% of them are unfit to profit from university education. If the existing colleges are unable to cope with the increasing numbers, new colleges will naturally be started by some private agency or the Government. These are the difficulties in every State, facing the universities; but the Mysore State has more than

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its fair share of them.

The content of education that we impart in colleges is another big problem. Since this University is an offshoot of the Bombay University, it has inherited some of its weaknesses along with its good points, so far as the examinations and curricula are concerned. Any changes made in a curriculum will constitute a new syllabus, and the university must hold two examinations—one according to the old syllabus and one according to the new, to give a chance to the failed candidates to appear for the examinations according to the old course of studies. This has to be followed for about four years, so that the University administrative staff has to encounter a number of problems in conducting the same examinations according to two different syllabuses. This explains why we in India are so unwilling to make any change in the syllabus for any examination. That also explains why our curriculum for the various examinations is so out-of-date in many disciplines. This is one of the problems which has almost baffled me. Any change in the syllabus necessitates the holding of supplementary examinations in accordance with the new and the old syllabuses for some two or three years. Even at the end of the period, there will still be candidates who haven't passed the examination according to the old syllabus and will bring pressure to bear on me to give them another chance. Then one more chance, and so it goes on. It appears to me that we are running the university for the benefit of indifferent students who keep on failing year after year. The administrative difficulties in setting two different papers in each subject are so overwhelming that the Controller of Examinations is naturally against any change in the syllabus. That means we must remain ever behind the times. I have known many universities in India which have made little or no change of a radical nature in its syllabuses in Science—Pure or Applied—while the knowledge has been growing from year to year. And teachers, too, would like to teach what they learnt in their college days, without making much effort to keep themselves abreast of developments. The same syllabus and the same textbooks! This happens in our country because we tolerate students who fail year after year, and we tolerate teachers who have not added one iota to their knowledge of their subject. In other countries, students who fail even once are sent down—for one thing, they have no accommodation in their colleges for repeaters. In our country, there has been a High Court ruling that the Universities are not competent to send down students even after four failures! What can one do at this rate to improve the standard of education? The only way to make some advance without any trouble is to make a few small changes by way

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of improvement almost every year in such a way that nobody notices them. There will be no old course and no new one. There will be only one course of studies undergoing continuous change from year to year, or once in two years. So we can keep pace with the growing knowledge in each subject as they do in western countries. This would compel the failed candidates to take the new course, which would be notified well in advance each year. This should work satisfactorily.

We have so many complaints about malpractices at the examinations, for which the teachers and the students (or their parents) are both to blame. Some teachers do not have enough professional integrity to withstand the pressure brought to bear on them for additional marks in the examinations. There have been cases in some universities where communal considerations have played havoc. Such cases are severely dealt with by a special committee in my University ; but the most deterrent action I have taken in some cases is to compel the examiners to come to the University and examine the scripts under the supervision of a University officer. This is a very humiliating position for the teachers, but if they cannot be trusted to do the work at home without succumbing to extraneous pressure, there is no other way. This has worked well in my University and the standard of examinations has considerably improved. Most examiners too have welcomed it, as it gets them out of the way of influence. However, it breaks my heart to think that the teachers in our country—some of them at any rate—cannot maintain that measure of impartiality and integrity which their vocation demands of them.

Such weaknesses apart, the Karnatak University has made steady progress from year to year. Many distinguished visitors have bestowed unstinted praise on the spirit and vitality of the University. Many University teachers have been motivated by a noble ideal of service to the University, and the research work produced by them during the short period has been outstanding in several subjects. At any rate, there is no sign of jealousy among them, and no bickerings. They seem to be all contented and happy. This is no mean achievement in our country.

In July 1959, I completed sixty years of my life. Some friends thought it was a good opportunity for the University to collect funds to institute prizes and scholarships. So a reception committee was set up under the chairmanship of Shri N. K. Dixit, one of the leading members of the Dharwar Bar. This worked so well that a grand function was organised to celebrate my sixtieth birthday. Shri S. Nijalingappa was the Chairman of the committee of sponsors, which

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consisted of eminent dignitaries of India. Shri Nijalingappa interested the then President of our country—the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad—in this celebration and the whole affair took a great turn. The intention of the organisers was to present me with a purse of one lakh of rupees. Actually they collected nearly two lakhs, from educational institutions, local bodies and well-to-do individuals. On 7th November, 1959, a public meeting was held for the purpose on the University campus, and was presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Dr. R. R. Diwakar, former Governer of Bihar, read the Address presented to me. Many distinguished persons including Shri S. Govindarajulu, Vice-Chancellor, Shri Venkateshwar University, Tirupati, Shri J. B. Mallaradhya, former D. P. I. of Mysore State, Shri D. P. Karmarkar, then Union Health Minister, and Prof. P. R. Jagapathy Naidu, former Professor of Geology of Madras University, spoke on the occasion. As usual on such occasions, tributes were paid to my services in the cause of education in a somewhat exaggerated language. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing the gathering said, "I feel greatly gratified to preside over the function to honour Shri Pavate who has played a prominent part in the field of education here and who had a series of successes in many capacities and in many places. He is fully worthy of the tributes spontaneously paid to him on this occasion........"

The organisation of the function was so successful that, although there were more than 15,000 people attending, there was pindrop silence throughout. Shri Nijalingappa presented a purse of a lakh and twenty-five thousand and a souvenir volume brought out in honour of the event, both of which were handed over to me by the President. I made over the money to the University. Many people who had come to attend the function expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which the proceedings had been conducted and paid compliments to the local organising committee. Some donors had specifically donated sums for the erection of my statue on the University campus. So a sum of Rs. 25,000 was set apart for the purpose.

According to the Karnatak University Act, the Vice-Chancellor shall hold office for a period of three years. I have already been elected to that office four times. During this period, I have had several opportunities to come in close contact with some of the national and international organisations in education. In 1956, the Government of India requested me to lead the Indian delegation to the International Educational Conference, Geneva. I was appointed a member of the Official Language Commission 1955-56, under Article 344 of the Constitution of India. I have also had the opportunity of visiting Universities in Europe, U. S. A. and Japan, at the invitation of the Rockefeller

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Convocation 1957

(from L to R) Shri S. Nijalingappa, chief guest; HH. Jayachamavajendra Wodeyar, Chancellor, Karnatak University; D. C. Pavate (standing)

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Shrimati Girijadevi Pavate

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Foundation, New York, in the summer of 1957. I was elected President of the Inter-University Board, India in 1959 and I was a member of its Standing Committee for many years. I have been a member of the University Grants Commission, since 1961. I was appointed Chairman of the Gauhati University Enquiry Commission to enquire into the conditions of that University, in January, 1962. I have been a member of the Executive Council of the Association of the Universities of the Commonwealth since 1961 and, in that capacity, visited the Universities of Australia, New Zealand and Canada. I was one of the seven Vice-Chancellors from India, to attend the Commonwealth Universities' Congress, held in London, in July 1963. The Prime Minister convened a National Integration Conference in September, 1961. Invitations had been issued to 153 persons, and among those invited were Union Ministers, Chief Ministers of States, Vice-Chancellors and other educationists, scientists, industrialists and a number of leading personalities from all over India. I happened to be one of the five Vice-Chancellors invited. Thus I have considerably benefited from such contacts with the various organisations concerned with Higher Education. There are many problems of Higher Education which face India today. Our prosperity as a nation would seem to depend, to a great extent, on our ability to find proper solution to them. I, therefore, to deal with them in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN :

some problems of university education

I. Growing numbers :

Assuming that our population now (1964) is approximately forty-five crores, we have now 31 University students per 10,000 population as against about 20 in Great Britain. There are 25 Universities in Great Britain and six are in the process of formation, with a total student population (in 1962-63) of 1,18,000. In addition, there are 55,000 students in Teachers' Training Colleges and 42,000 in 'Further Education' institutes, which give education in technology, science, art, architecture and social and business studies. The Robbins Committee expects that the demand for higher education will go on increasing rapidly in Great Britain and that 560,000 places will have to be found in 1980-81 to provide for the growth both in the age-groups and in the proportion of the age-group qualifying for entry. The Committee recommends that, of the 560,000 places required, 350,000 should be provided by the Universities, 145,000 by Colleges of Education for intending teachers, and 65,000 for full-time advanced students in 'further education'. It also recommends that existing Universities should be expanded and six more new Universities should be established by 1980-81. The most pertinent observation of the Committee in this connection is that the increase in numbers is to be achieved without any relaxation in the standards. The 560,000 places in 1980 will make provision only for students who are "not a whit less eligible in terms of School Leaving attainments than those being admitted now." The minimum attainment expected now is success at the General Certificate of Education Examination with two passes at the Advanced level. This test at the Advanced level comes nearly to the standard of the B. A. or B. Sc. examination of our Universities in the specialised subjects. In the opinion of the Robbins' Committee, providing for

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higher education for all who are capable of benefiting by it is not incompatible with the maintenance of high standards. "Equality of opportunity for all need not mean imposing limitations on some. To limit the progress of the best is inevitably to lower the standards of the average."

University expansion is taking place everywhere on an unprecedented scale, both in developing and in advanced countries, because every country increasingly feels the need to conserve and foster talent. Young men and women are everywhere determined to secure the chance of an education which will lead to admission to the profession for which they think their abilities fit them. They are encouraged and supported in their determination by the generally accepted social philosophy of equal opportunities for all. There are reasons, however, to believe that expansion is taking place in our country without adequate safeguards against the possible falling-off in the standards. Wastage, or the number of failures in the various University examinations, is an index of the indifferent manner in which we admit students or educate them in our Universities. If the right student is admitted and the right education is given, there is no reason why he should fail! None at all. As can be seen from the extracts from the Robbins' Committee given above, one is struck by the care Great Britain bestows on planning for the provision of additional places for its young men and women of the eighteen age-group. For additional places, additional accommodation, additional staff and additional equipment are necessary, and preparations will be made to provide them within the next fifteen years. In our country, when the tide of numbers advances, we are just inclined to admit more students without worrying about the extra teaching staff and extra accommodation required. There are two urgent reforms needed in our country in this respect. First of all, we must devise a better system of selecting students from the schools into the University than the one at present in vogue. All those who pass the school-leaving examination are not designed for University education. Even in a country like the Soviet Union, institutes of higher education have stringent entrance examinations. With all the expansion of higher education that has taken place in the Soviet Union, there is provision only for about one-third of those who have successfully completed Secondary education. Even in America, which is perhaps the most liberal country in the world in providing opportunities for higher education, just over a third of those who have completed Secondary education proceed to the University. In Britain it is less than 10 per cent. Easy access to a University usually carries with it high wastage. All poor but deserving students should have an

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opportunity for Higher Education and their expenditure should be met wholly by Government-Central or State. The ability to pay the fees should not be the only criterion for admission. Unless, therefore, Universities are able to screen the students who have finished their Secondary education, it is idle to expect any improvement in the results. We need not be as strict in admissions as they are in Russia, but we must maintain a reasonable standard of selection. Secondly, increase in numbers must be allowed only according to a certain student-staff ratio, which should not be less than 15 : 1.

The development of our material resources proceeds according to plans approved by the Planning Commission. Similarly, Higher education should be carefully planned in detail with an eye to employment potential, reasonable standards, availability of teaching staff, etc. At present, we are inclined to deal with students in the mass without worrying about contacts between teachers and taught.

These remarks apply with greater force to the admissions made to our Engineering and Medical Colleges. The expansion of our industries needs a large number of engineers able to apply their knowledge practical problems. We need also more medical men and women, to provide medical relief to the vast masses of our people. But we cannot produce good engineers and medicos merely by ordering colleges to admit more students. By admitting two hundred students in place of the hundred-and-twenty normally allowed in a Medical college, we do not produce a proportionally larger number of doctors without lowering the standards. We only add to the wastage. Nor is this all. The inability of the students to complete the course in the usual period leads to frustration. They lose confidence in themselves. Many of them might have done well in other courses like the Civil Service, or in business. This mad rush of students to Engineering and Medical colleges without the necessary aptitude for such courses has resulted in the shortage of capable teachers for the basic sciences and of research workers. We say that the object of education at the University is to teach a student how to think for himself. But this can be done satisfactorily by means of any subject, if it is pursued in sufficient depth. Moreover, there is a great need in our country at the moment for well-trained and competent young men in several other professions—civil services, law, teaching, particularly in colleges and universities, and even in politics. Where are the competent and well-informed leaders to come from? After all, the destiny of our country depends on our public leaders. They have to be caught, disciplined and trained, when they are young! I am, therefore, not at all happy at the present trend of all young men choosing an engineer-

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ing or medical career irrespective of their aptitude or competence. Unless the standards of admission, teaching and examination are substantially raised in all faculties, I am afraid we shall not be able to make any appreciable impression on the rest of the world in the intellectual field.

2. Medium of Instruction:

There are three aspects of this problem. One is the national prestige; the second, the educational requirements, and the third, the feasibility of any solution. We have been discussing this problem in our country for the last thirty years and, more seriously, since the attainment of the independence, but public opinion is still sharply divided.

My own view for years was that a single official language was absolutely necessary for the unity of our country, and that that language must be Hindi. Naturally the medium for University education should eventually be also Hindi. This appeared to be the only solution to the problem also from the point of view of our national prestige. The Russian Deputy Minister of Education, who attended the International Educational Conference at Geneva, in 1956, pointedly asked me, as the leader of the Indian delegation, when we were going to adopt Hindi as the official language and medium of instruction. But by that time, I had realised the practical difficulties in the way of adopting Hindi as the official language and as medium of instruction at the university level. I had also seen with my own eyes the experiments made, in some Hindi States to make Hindi the medium for university education. So I told the Russian Minister that we were not in a hurry to make fundamental changes in the field of education. The experience I gained as a member of the Official Language Commission was very interesting. Broadly speaking, when taking stock of the position at the end of our tour of India, there were three groups in the Commission itself. One consisted of a small minority of two members who were anxious to retain English as medium of instruction; another, of about eight, who wanted Hindi as medium, and the third, about ten, who wanted the regional language to replace English. More or less, we reflected the opinion prevailing in our own States. At one time, it became clear that there wouldn't be a unanimous report at all. The Chairman, Shri B. G. Kher, was naturally worried. He was himself strongly of the view that Hindi should be the official

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language and the medium of instruction at the university stage. The opposition to Hindi in Madras and Bengal was simply unimaginable. I asked a distinguished Bengalee why he was anxious to retain English in preference to Hindi. I added, "I can understand your advocating Bengalee as the language of the whole of India, but I can't understand your partiality for English." He smilingly said, "Yes, you make Bengalee the official language of India and I am with you. But as long as you advocate the use of Hindi as the official language and university medium, I would fight for English." In Madras, we were shown black flags, as they thought that we were determined to thrust Hindi upon them. In such circumstances, I told my Hindi friends that they were fighting a losing battle in trying to make Hindi the medium of instruction throughout India. It would not work in any case as far as the Commission was concerned. I said, "If you are anxious that the Indian languages should develop, do not be particular about Hindi. We have, after all, decided upon having new States on a linguistic basis, and the official correspondence in such States would naturally be carried on in their own languages. The universities are bound, in due course, to adopt the regional language as the medium of instruction. Let us, therefore, agree to have the State language as the medium of instruction in case of State Universities and Hindi in the case of Central Universities, just as the local language will be the official language as far as the State administration is concerned and Hindi will be the official language of the Indian Government. So the regional-language-wallahs and the Hindi-wallahs reached an agreement on this basis, but on the understanding that in course of time Hindi would be learnt all over India. Thus we produced a more or less unanimous report, although the two representatives of Bengal and Madras submitted their minute of dissent. The latter insisted on the indefinite continuation of English, and eventually they won their point. The latest adoption by Government of the three-language formula under which the regional language forms the basic language and Hindi and English become the additional languages to be learnt in school and college, has stayed the controversy for some time. Actually, it means that English will be cultivated more assiduously than Hindi in non-Hindi areas, as it will continue to be a link between State and State, as a language understood by the educated people throughout India. It has been urged that early steps should be taken in the Hindi-speaking areas to teach another Modern Indian language, preferably of the South Indian group, in order to implement the three-language formula. I am doubtful whether any South Indian langu-

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age will ever be taught compulsorily in the Hindi areas. Similarly, Madras has not made Hindi a compulsory subject, even in the Secondary stage. This shows the difficulty and complexity of the language problem in India.

Although Hindi may be the official language of the Union Government to some extent, English will doubtless remain the instrument of Governmental work for many years, under the recent decision of Parliament. Even in the States, English will remain, at least partially, the official language. However, the difficulties of educationists will persist. Most of the pupils will have only a scanty and superficial knowledge of English and, when they come up to college, they will be unable to follow lectures in English. My experience in the Karnatak University area has been narrated in the following extract from my presidential address at the Inter-University Board meeting at Baroda, in December, 1959 :

"The problem of the medium of instruction bristles with difficulties and some of them appear to be almost insuperable. It is all the more imperative, then, to grasp the nettle, to take the bull by its horns; for, upon the prompt solution of this problem depends the future of our education. There is a tendency in our country to think that the problem of the medium will solve itself if we just leave it alone. There cannot be a greater or more fatal illusion. The difficulties in the way of solution are many and varied. There is, to start with, our innate conservatism. There is too the naturally slow process of democratic change. There are, perhaps, vested interests, more or less powerful, working more or less unconsciously. There is the teachers' understandable reluctance to switch over to a new medium. There is the substantial opposition to Hindi in some parts of the country. There is the difficulty of recruiting teachers in the event of an immediate change-over to the regional or national medium. There is the problem of linguistic minorities within each region. The problem is also linked up with the language of the administration and with the medium of examination at the level of the Public Service Commission. But whatever the difficulties, the situation created by the change of medium from the regional language to English in the student's passage from school to college, is nothing short of tragic. There seems now no doubt that it was a sad mistake to have left the determination of educational policy at different levels to different educational agencies with little, or hardly effective, liaison between them. The result is a deep sense of frustration on the part of the teacher, with a harrowing sense of humiliation, of loss of faith. As matters stand, it is somewhat inhuman to compel most of our young men and women to receive

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their college instruction through the medium of English. The mischief is not purely confined to the English papers, but spreads its tentacles over all subjects. Where comprehension is at such low ebb, you cannot expect miracles of composition. The student is, therefore, reduced to short-cuts such as notes and guide-books. Eventually, when he graduates, his grasp and understanding of each and every subject is shallow and vague."

The position has since improved slightly as the Mysore Government has introduced English in Middle school as well as in Secondary school and the students will have studied English for at least six years before they join college. During the Commonwealth Congress at London, in July, 1963, I met the Vice-Chancellor of the Wales University. Once, when I was discussing the question of medium of instruction in the universities, he said that about ten per cent of the students in the Wales Universities insist on being taught through Welsh. If that is the position in a part of Great Britain, it is futile to expect our students to assimilate all knowledge through a foreign language. Sooner or later, we have to switch on to our own language as medium of instruction at the university stage. The first phase will be the teaching of the social sciences, i.e. History, Economics, Sociology, Logic and Philosophy, through the regional language. This may take about ten years from now. Many efforts are being made to produce suitable textbooks in the various Indian languages, and I see no insuperable difficulty in adopting the regional language as medium of instruction in the Arts subjects. English should, of course, continue to be taught as a compulsory subject throughout the first degree course.

The teaching of Science subjects through the Indian languages will present many difficulties, as there is danger of using different technical words in different Indian languages. Even here, the Government of India has issued separate lists of technical words in Hindi and these could be adopted with advantage even by the South Indian languages. All these difficulties could be overcome within the next tweny-five years and a common pattern evolved throughout India. Even for the Science students, a compulsory paper in English would be necessary. Scientists need a good knowledge not only of English but also of some other foreign languages, like Russian, French, German and Japanese. In all these measures, we have to move warily and should not too abruptly remove English as the medium of instruction. In Engineering, Medicine and Law much more time will be taken to replace English by an Indian language. All our present difficulties are due to the unnecessary haste of some people. The process of change of medium should be one of gradual evolution, without a sudden jerk or

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violent departure from the previous stage. It needs careful planning and thinking. To start with, the medium of instruction in the First Year class of college, might be the regional language, with free use of English. It might be even the other way round. The medium might be English, with free use of the regional language. I see no harm in explaining some of the subjects in the regional language as well as in English, right up to the B. A. or B. Sc. degree class. The postgraduate work should continue to be in English, for a variety of reasons. If it is to be replaced by an Indian language any time, it should be by Hindi ; otherwise, the staffing will be restricted to local teachers, who, naturally may not always be the best available. Some contact must be maintained with the other Universities in the country, and the exchange of teachers should be possible at least at the post-graduate level. We must always make efforts to avoid too much 'in-breeding'.

3. All India Services

There are several competitive examinations now held by the Union Public Service Commission, on the results of which candidates are recruited to the All India and Central Services. They include the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Foreign Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Indian Income-tax Service, etc. which are of an All India character. These examinations are at present held in the English medium, but their continuance in the English medium much longer is open to grave objection, for two reasons. One is the present tendency, whether we like it or not, towards the adoption of the regional language as medium of instruction and of examination at the university level. True, by and large, the medium is still English in most of the Universities, but with the steadily growing numbers of students, in the universities of the educationally backward communities, it is hardly possible to maintain anything like a reasonable standard of English. Thus the English medium for the Public Service examinations would undoubtedly be a great handicap to a large majority of students. The second reason is that, with our present development schemes affecting rural areas, the old type of civil servant, whose recruitment and promotions depended, to a large extent, on his mastery over English, is becoming an anachronism. Civil servants are now required to mix with the rural people more frequently and understand their problems. The competence of a civil servant is, or should be, now judged by the

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results achieved in regenerating the countryside and not by his English notes in the official correspondence, in which even the Ministers are no longer interested. Some of the Ministers even do not understand English to any great extent, and I do not hold it up against them ; for, they have become Ministers as leaders of the people and not because of their mastery over English. The civil servants, therefore, cannot hope to make any serious impression on the Minister by the fluency with which they are able to speak English. The whole situation has changed and the State Governments will gradually adopt the regional language as the official language. In the circumstances, what value can one attach to a civil servant recruited by the Union Public Service Commission on the strength of marks obtained in English and other papers answered in English ? He has to have ability to express himself freely and fluently in the local language on important economic, social, agricultural and cooperative problems. That being so, the members of the I. A. S. selected by the Union Public Service Commission will not be able to pull their weight in the State administration on the strength only of their English. This has been increasingly in evidence during the last ten years. What is the remedy ? The answer is that, sooner or later, we have to have the examination through the medium of the Indian languages. The Official Language Commission, after careful consideration, came to the following conclusion :

"So far as the All-India and Central Services are concerned, (and this would apply, unless otherwise provided, also to other All-India services created hereafter) the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium, may be introduced after due notice. As and when other regional languages become a medium of instruction in the Universities up to graduation stage, as Hindi has done, the admission of other linguistic media will have to be considered.

The medium of the English language may be continued as an alternative for as long as may be necessary. If, eventually, a position should arise when this alternative could be dispensed with, such dispensation should, of course, be made after sufficiently long notice." (Pages 418-419 of the report of the Official Languages Commission—1956).

This was a compromise decision of the Commission, for which I had personally worked for several days. At the time of signing the report, the Chairman, leaving his chair, came to my seat in the Assembly Hall at Srinagar and, patting me on my back, paid me handsome compliments for bringing, about the compromise; but, in his

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own mind, the Chairman had high hopes that, within a few years, the progress of Hindi among non-Hindi-speaking University graduates generally would have advanced sufficiently to admit of their competing on equal terms with Hindi-speaking candidates at these examinations through the medium of Hindi. These hopes, however, have been shattered largely owing to the distrust—particularly in the South and Bengal—of Hindi. True, Hindi is compulsory as a second language throughout the Secondary stage in most States; but it is very doubtful whether the university graduates will ever be able, in those areas, to answer the Union Public Service Commission papers in Hindi.

The Government of India is more and more interested in expanding the scope of the All-India services. They want to include in them the Engineering, Medical, Educational, Forest and Agricultural Services, most of which were provincialised even during the British regime. This intention of the Government of India can be explained by two overriding considerations. One is the supreme need of maintaining unity in the seeming diversity of India, and the second is the growing suspicion of the capacity of the States themselves to recruit candidates to public services on merit and suitability. Much can be said in favour of these considerations; but will it make for administrative efficiency in view of the growing consciousness among the States of the importance of their own language? Consider, for instance, an officer of the all-India Agricultural Service coming from Madras and serving in Maharashtra. What good will he be if he does not mix with the Marathi-speaking farmers and try to understand their difficulties? In the old days, a British officer of the Indian Agricultural Service left the district administration to the local officers, who, too, did not necessarily associate themselves with the cultivators. Most of the British officers depended on such officers for understanding the local conditions and realising the difficulties of the farmers. The same position obtains now and explains why our community development schemes have not yielded the results expected by Government. To improve the lot of the farmers, the officers, right up to the Minister at the State level, should come from the agricultural classes of the State concerned and have considerable knowledge of local conditions. An outsider can, at best, be an impartial officer for the purpose of routine administration, as in the old days. He cannot enthuse farmers in the modern methods of agriculture.

On the one hand, Universities will continually try to adopt the regional language as medium of instruction with English and Hindi as additional languages, as expected by the three-language formula; on

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the other hand, the Public Service Commission will hold its examinations in English. These two policies will be at variance with each other, and the standard of public officers of the all-India services will progressively deteriorate. It may well happen that the public services will be the monopoly of the rich classes, who can afford to send their children to Anglo-Indian and other schools, where the medium of instruction is English. It is also a well-known fact that the Union Public Service Commission is unable to hold its examinations through any language other than English. It is a counsel of perfection to expect them to hold them through the medium of the fifteen languages of India. The public discontent will increase. The only way out of the difficulty is for the Union Public Service Commission to hold the examinations for services of an all-India character in the local language, with the cooperation of the State Public Service Commission and Universities, if necessary. The viva voce examination will also have to be held by the representatives of the Union Public Service Commission and the local experts. It is necessary that, for services of a nation-building character, promising young men of the State itself should be recruited if we wish to have the best results.

4. Emotional Integration.

This is one of the questions we often discuss at the various conferences in India. Perhaps, there is fear in some quarters that the various States may grow so individualistic as to jeopardize the national unity. Universities too, it is said, are likely to isolate themselves from the rest by imparting education through the regional language. Actually, there is no such danger. There is a tendency to exaggerate cultural, linguistic and ethnological differences in this country. There are at least five language groups in a small country like Switzerland and several languages in Russia. The relatively greater independence enjoyed by the States in America or Russia has not jeopardized national unity in those countries. I do not see any reason why we should get panicky about the unity of our country, simply because we occasionally see strong local loyalties in some States. As far as education is concerned, if English and Hindi are both taught compulsorily, I do not think the linguistic differences would matter much. On the other hand, local patriotism is not generally inconsistent with national patriotism. In my own experience, some of the advocates of the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis have been great nationalists and taken prominent part

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in the nation's struggle for independence. Personally, I have always felt the need for granting more autonomy to State Governments and local bodies than is done at present. People should be able to manage their own affairs, and the higher authorities like the Government of India in the case of States, and the State Governments in the case of local bodies, should step in only when there is grave danger of a collapse of orderly Government. At present, there is a feeling on the part of the Government of India that the State Governments mismanage their affairs ; similarly, the State Government think that the autonomous bodies under them mismanage theirs. This is quite wrong in my view and any tendency on the part of the Central or the State Governments to deprive the local bodies of their autonomy cannot be too strongly deprecated.

It is certainly true that the universities in India have a vital contribution to make in the process of national integration. Universities should never allow any parochial or communal feelings to develop within their precincts. Occasionally one hears that some teachers show partiality to students belonging to their own region or caste ; but cases of this type are the exception rather than the rule. At any rate, such tendencies should be ruthlessly suppressed. Universities, by definition, do not belong to any particular region or community. The Calcutta University, under the able leadership of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, was the first to provide for the teaching of languages other than Bengalee at the postgraduate level, and, following his example, many universities have established chairs in languages other than the regional. Of course, classical languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic are taught in most of the universities in India. The teaching of History has a special contribution to make towards emotional integration, and, to this end, it is necessary that histories of different regions of the country should be prepared in a well-coordinated manner. We should also try and show the impact of the culture of each part of the country on that of the rest of India. This University found the manuscript of a Marathi translation of a famous work of a Kannada saint done about five hundred years ago. It has been jointly published by the Poona and Karnatak Universities. Such cooperation is necessary for the fostering of good relations between one region and another.

Even if the regional language becomes the medium of instruction, every university will, and should, maintain a few colleges where instruction is imparted through English. The postgraduate classes and professional colleges should continue to use English as medium of instruction. This will not only make for unity in the

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country but will also facilitate the admission of students coming from other areas. This, however, is true only in theory. Actually, few students from other universities will be admitted, unless special efforts are made by the Government of India to achieve that objective. The Regional Engineering Colleges established in different regions by the Government of India are an excellent example of the initiative of Central Government in this direction. Similar efforts should be made by it to provide regional medical colleges as well as a few Central Universities in different parts of the country, particularly in the South.

In the postgraduate departments of my University, there are quite a few students from various neighbouring States, like Maharashtra and Andhra ; but to encourage students of Northern Universities to join universities in the southern region and vice versa, some scholarships might be instituted in each university by the Government of India, to be awarded by the University Grants Commission. Even then it is doubtful whether North Indian students will join the South Indian Universities unless they are compelled by financial considerations or are anxious to specialise in a subject for which there is no adequate provision in North India.

At present, the University Grants Commission pays recurring grants to the State Universities only for a period of five years. Since the Government of India's responsibility for coordination of the universities and maintenance in them of ade quate standards is exercised though the University Grants Commissson, it wo uld be desirable that all recurring and non-recurring expenditure on development plans be borne by the U. G. C. and that periodical surveys be made by it of the standard of education maintained by each university. Such surveys are made by ad-hoc bodies in America purely on a voluntary basis ; but the only competent-bdoy to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the standards of university education in this country is the U. G. C. through the appropriate committees. Such a step will also help detect any fissiparous tendencies in the universities which could be curbed. Broadly speaking, a substantial percentage of the Professors and Readers should be recruited from other regions or States. The U. G. C. should be able to exercise a certain amount of control over the staffing of the University Postgraduate Departments all over India. This should be possible if the responsibility of finding funds for all development schemes in the universities falls squarely on the U. G. C.

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5. **General education :**

The philosophy behind General Education is that all educated people should be men of culture even though they may have specialised in a particular area of study. As the U.G.C. report on General Education observes, Higher education should be a well-proportioned preparation for effective living in varied circumstances and relationships. The General Education movement is really a reaction against the fragmentation of the curriculum and undue specialisation. Everywhere in the world there is a feeling amongst educationists that something should be done to break down the walls that have come to be built between the various disciplines in a university. To remedy the defects of over-specialisation, a special course in General Education has been introduced in many American colleges and Universities. Even for an Engineering course, the American Universities require students to take courses in Humanities and Social Sciences for at least two years. Students are generally not admitted to medical courses in the U.S.A. without a good General Education. The Scottish Universities have always insisted on Science students taking some courses in humanities and Social Sciences and Arts students taking some courses in Physical and Biological sciences. Some other Universities in the U.K. also have been trying to experiment by way of General Education.

In India, the movement of General Education has been gaining momentum during the last 10 years. The University Education Commission (1943-49) drew tpointed attention to he importance of a well-balanced education at the undergraduate level. Since then, the Vice-Chancellors have expressed in various conferences their great concern at the over-specialisation in our colleges, but have not been able to achieve much success either in introducing a special course in General Education, or in making Arts students study a course in the natural sciences and the science students take a course in the social sciences. Some Universities, including my own, have indeed tried to introduce a science course for Arts students and a Social Science course for science students; but they haven't been able to throw open several windows to the students' minds. The experiment has not been ssuccessful as one would desire.

It is necessary to point out here that General Education is not such a new-fangled idea in India as it is supposed to be by many. Right up to 1911, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (i.e. Mechanics, Astronomy etc.) were compulsory subjects for all students taking the B.A. examination in the Bombay University. It is true that the

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syllabus in those subjects was of an elementary character; neverthe less, the Arts students were initiated into the mysteries of the Natural sciences. Until recently, the Bombay University used to have Mathematics and elementary Physics as compulsory subjects for the First Year course in Arts. As an Arts student, I personally benefited much from the elementary course in Physics, as I would not have been able to cope with the Cambridge Mathematics course without some background in that subject. There is no doubt at all in my mind that the undergraduate course should be based on a sound General Education. In other words, for those who want to proceed to the University no option should be given either in Secondary school or in the Pre-university (i.e. up to the Intermediate) classes as far as the fundamental requirements are concerned. Whether a student wants to be a doctor, an engineer, an administrator, or a leader in public affairs, he must have a go[illegible] knowledge of Literature, History, Economics and Mathematics. Th[illegible] are basic requirements. In addition, he should have specialised cou[illegible] either in Humanities or Social sciences or Natural sciences. No[illegible] there is hardly any branch of Social sciences which does not require an advanced knowledge of Mathematics. Even a medical student needs a good knowledge of mathematics. Without Mathematics, all scientific pursuits at the advanced level even in the biological sciences are impossible. All this is provided in Europe in the Secondary schools. The German Gymnasium, the French Lyce'e and the British public school. We should try to give General Education at least up to the Intermediate and restrict the number of subjects to two or three only in the last two years of the undergraduate stage. Our students should have a broad-based education up to the first degree stage, so that they would be ready for real specialisation at the postgraduate level.

6. Examinations :

Examinations are not quite the same thing as the day of judgment. In a way, examinations are tests of competence for entry into the world of occupation, but success in examinations held by the universities or the Public Service Commissions does not necessarily ensure success in life. All they do is to give an initial advantage to a successful candidate. There have been many prosperous businessmen and other leaders of men, who did not pass any examination, yet they have done very well for themselves in life. So there is no need for an atmosphere of awe and fear in the examination hall.

The present system of examinations in which the essay-type of

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questions are set, has been inherited from the Chinese. For entry into public service, they used to set elaborate tests of essay writing on themes taken from ancient writings. The old system of examinations in China has since been swept away by successive revolutions during the present century. In Europe and America, many improvements have been brought about in the mode of examinations during the last fifty years.

Examinations, regarded as the exit from the academic world to the world outside, are largely tests of book-knowledge and can give no indication of the candidates' general attainment and personality. This explains why successful candidates are not always a success in life. Recruiting officers for careers in the armed forces, business or the civil service, have devised means which test the candidates' honesty, capacity to think and reason, and sociability.

University examinations in India leave much to be desired as tests of the candidates' knowledge, even from the educational point of view. It is far easier to set memory-testing questions than to devise questions to test observation, reasoning and thought. A paper-setter has generally to set several papers for several university examinations, and he is hardly given, under our system, more than a month or two in which to set his papers. Indeed, some college teachers measure their success by the number of universities for which they set papers. Paper-setting is a very difficult art and very few can set papers which test the candidates' power to think for themselves. All that a paper-setter often does is to take a few question papers of previous years, choose questions from them and present them with suitable modifications. Indeed, students are so accustomed to such stereotyped questions that any fresh questions which they cannot easily trace to the examination papers set in the previous years, are generally regarded as stiff or outside the syllabus and at any rate unfair. These fresh questions may be really simpler than the ones they are accustomed to ; but their very freshness is an offence. I remember I was once a paper-setter in Mathematics with Prof. K. R. Gunjikar for the matriculation examination of Bombay University some thirty years back. The questions were not taken from any textbook or modelled on those in the previous years. They were a challenge to the candidates to apply their mathematical theory to practical problems. There was such a hue and cry all over the Bombay Presidency, from Dharwar to Hyderabad (Sind). One of the Professors of Mathematics, who was also connected with a big school, said, on looking at the paper, "I am simply stunned by the questions asked in the papers." We were naturally dubbed as slaughterers of the innocents. But what

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is the use of education if the knowledge gained cannot be applied to any situation in life? Of course, after this incident, the University did not dare to appoint us paper-setters for that examination. In my own University, I often receive complaints from candidates about the unusual nature of the questions, some being outside the syllabus, some requiring reasoning or thinking or being stiff and so on. They expect only memory tests and not tests of practical application. A slight deviation from the routine type of question upsets them. The report of the committee with which I was connected on Examination Reforms in Indian Universities, appointed by the University Grants Commission, points out grave defects in our system. It says:

"Reform in examinations cannot be brought about without improvements in the methods of teaching and learning. If the quality of teaching is to be improved, more time must be devoted to tutorials and seminars, bringing the students more intimately in contact with the mind of the teacher. If this is done the number of lectures could in many cases be reduced with advantage. The value of the tutorial system as an aid to good education in the universities has been widely recognised and its importance in India has also been emphasised.....

It is necessary to point out that examinations should periodically reveal to the student his own progress in studies. For effective teaching also it is necessary that the teacher should know at regular intervals how the students are progressing. If the performance of a student is to be judged by a single final examination, the whole purpose of the educative process will tend to be narrowed down by this single end. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate in some way the advance made by the student periodically. The significance of a system of internal assessment based on a record of class-work can be easily seen in this context. In the initial stage only a small weightage may be given to internal assessment. If the system is wisely developed, weightage could be increased subsequently. While we agree that some difficulties and dangers will have to be met in introducing internal assessment in our universities, we are of the view that the experiment is worth trying and that the educational merits of such assessment outweigh on the whole the risks involved."

The Universities in India have to take steps to right the present position at least in two directions. The setting of a question-paper has become a mechanical annual ritual, with hardly any originality in the framing of questions. The cleverness of a paper-setter is often measured by the amount of freshness he introduces in his questions and by the number of questions which do not exactly depend on memory. Take our question-papers of the Engineering examinations.

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There are not enough practical problems or numerical examples. They consist mostly of book-work which any student can easily expect by looking at two or three years' previous papers. The questions should be such as would be answered by any student who has reasonably grasped the subject-matter ; but they should test his knowledge of facts and principles, ability to draw valid generalisations from data, ability to apply principles to new circumstances, etc. If previous question-papers are to be any guide at all to the paper-setters, they should be from other Universities, preferably British and American Universities, rather than our own. To be able to set such questions, the paper-setter would require at least three months' notice. No paper-setter should ordinarily be asked to set papers for the same examination for more than two consecutive years.

The second urgent reform is to give some weightage for the year's work of the student. In most universities the experience has been that the students generally waste their time during the first term. If periodical tutorial classes are held at least once a month in each subject, it should be possible for the Head of the department in each college to record the number of essays or other assignments done by each student, the attendance at each discussion, and the performance of the student both in writing the essay and in participating in the discussion. Such a record should be sent to the University at the end of the second term, so that some credit might be given, should it be necessary, to the candidate in deciding his result at the examination.

Universities in the U. S. A. and Japan have abolished the annual examination system altogether in favour of internal assessment by the teachers. In America, the students choose their courses of study each term and their work is assessed at the end of the term. If the work is satisfactory in one course, the students choose another course of study for the next term and the process of learning and examining goes on in the same way, term after term, until he is considered fit for the degree.

Such a procedure may be considered fantastic in our country. And yet it works very well in the U. S. A. Some of the top-ranking universities in the States are second to none in the world and maintain exceptionally high standards by this examination procedure. I was surprised at the way the Americans hold their Secondary school examination. There is only one examination held all over the country, and the papers set are such as could be answered by ticking off the correct answers from the plausible answers given. These are mostly multiple-choice tests. The examination scripts are assessed by an electronic device, which precludes all possibility of partiality.

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The organic relationship that exists between teaching and learning is practically destroyed by our present system of external examinations. We have to have external paper-setters because the internal teachers cannot be trusted to be quite impartial. There have been complaints that the results of a particular college were good because a certain teacher from that college was a paper-setter and examiner. The implication is that the particular teacher gave out the questions in advance or examined the scripts of his students more liberally. For similar reasons, internal assessment would be even more untrustworthy and bear no relation to the performance in the external examination. The main factor responsible for the unreliability of the internal assessment or for the partiality of the examiners to some of their own students, which we occasionally see in our country, is the anxiety of each college to obtain good results somehow or other. A strict code of professional honour should be laid down to prevent any such unfair competition. It used to be said of a German teacher that he would rather commit suicide than cram up his students beforehand to pass on the questions set by himself. Such professional honour has to prevail in our body of teachers before any improvement can be noticed.

Another difficulty in making internal assessment an organic part of the final assessment of a candidate in the university examination is the steady increase in the number of students, as well as in the number of colleges. Enforcement of the tutorial classes or watching the progress of each student in a huge college becomes impossible. The University Grants Commission has restricted the number of students to 800 in each college; but even in such colleges, unless they are liberally staffed, it is not possible to pay individual attention to the extent that is necessary.

7. University Autonomy.

This problem comes up for discussion almost every year in the annual meetings of the Executive Council as well as in the quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth. Many Vice-Chancellors bemoan, at these meetings, the continual interference of Government in some form or other, in the administration of the universities, while others take the view that, since the Government supplies most of the funds, a certain amount of control by them over the universities is inevitable to safeguard the interests of the tax-payer. Perhaps, Great Britain is the only country where universities are absolutely independent, as far as administration is concerned and yet

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obtain grants from Government to the extent of 80 per cent of their total expenditure. This is because there has been a tradition of intellectual freedom in that country for centuries, so much so that British Universities, specially Oxford and Cambridge, hesitated for many years to accept Government subsidies. When I was a student at Cambridge, the college Lecturers and University Professors were poorly paid having regard to the cost of living, and their intellectual eminence Most of the teachers were Fellows and Lecturers and their average earnings amounted to about £500 per annum (i.e. roughly Rs. 550 p.m.). They were quite satisfied with their lot, although any one of them could have earned four times that anywhere else in their vast Empire. The University for them was a sacred place, and they were happy to offer their dedicated service to it in their own way. During the last twenty years, the situation has vastly changed. The teaching profession is perhaps the best paid in Great Britain, and most of the expenditure on pay is met by the Treasury through the University Grants Committee, an ad-hoc body consisting of persons with experience of education and university administration, appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although the major part of the university expenditure is met by Government, there is no interference of any kind in the administration. The Universities continue to be self-governing institutions. At the Commonwealth Universities' Congress Dinner, on July 17, 1963, at Grosvenor House, London, the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, said, "Every country feels that education is the basis of its future, and so in this country successive British Governments spend more and more on expanding facilities for higher education." He stressed the need for all Universities to be free from any Government control. He said, "There is one thing that is true of every form of university or scholastic institution, it must never be anything except free. It must never sink or be degraded or be in any form at all the instrument of the Government. We have seen in our lifetime the degradation of learning and we know what it leads to."

In the United States of America, there are two types of universities—the State Universities, which derive the great bulk of their income from Government, and the private universities, which receive no governmental aid except under contract for special research and development programmes. The main sources of income of private universities are fees and interest from gifts and bequests. They are strongly opposed to receiving any aid from the Federal or State Government, as they want to avoid political awards and punishments. They enjoy the freedom to determine their curricula, qualifications

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for admissions and standards of scholarship. Curiously enough, some of the most famous Universities of the United States are private and yet they manage to pay their teachers much better than the State Universities. Although some State Universities are equally well-known (e.g. the University of California, at Berkeley) they suffer great handicaps, as some of them are required to admit all students who have passed the qualifying examination. The private universities can afford to pick and choose their students and so can easily maintain a high standard of education.

In the other English-speaking countries, like Australia, Canada and New Zealand, the same social philosophy obtains as in America. The Government desires to provide opportunities of higher education for all qualified young men and women who can benefit from it. They provide the necessary funds to the universities, but try at the same time to maintain a certain amount of administrative control, although there is no intention anywhere of infringing the academic freedom of the universities.

In our own country, we hear occasionally of some infringement of university autonomy, but by and large we follow the British pattern and there is hardly any interference by any Government in academic matters. There have been a few instances in which a State Government has taken recourse to amendment of a University Act for political reasons, and they did evoke strong public criticism. The Inter-University Board also took strong exception to such methods of interference in university administration. Enlightened public opinion is entirely against the importation of politics in universities. Some State Governments are, however, inclined to be swayed away by personal, party or communal considerations and are tempted to act in a high-handed manner in university matters. This is, often, due to lack of experience of educational administration. The only way of avoiding this interference is through educating the public, legislators and Government about the proper functions of universities and the need for an atmosphere of freedom in which alone universities can effectively carry out their duties and responsibilities to society and to Government itself. It would, perhaps, be wise to have a few members of the legislators on the Senate, and one or two even on the Executive Council, or Syndicate, of the University. They will act as Government's representatives on the university bodies and will help remove misunderstanding. In the final analysis, the extent of university autonomy in any country is an index of the success of a democratic Government in that country.

The Government of India's responsibility towards the State

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Universities is limited to the co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research. To discharge their responsibilities efficiently, the Government of India constituted the University Grants Commission for the purpose in 1953. Section 12 of the U. G. C. Act provides, *inter alia*, that it shall be the general duty of the Commission to take, in consultation with the Universities or other bodies concerned, all such steps as it may think fit for the promotion and coordination of university education and for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examinations and research in universities. Under the provisions of the Act, the Commission has enormous powers to interfere with the academic freedom of the universities if it chooses to do so. The U. G. C., however, has never given any impression to any university at any time, that such powers will actually be used. The Commission has followed the best traditions of the British U. G. C. and has never acted as a sort of superior body. Generous funds have been allotted to State universities, yet without the slightest interference in their administration. The Commission, sends visiting committees of experienced Professors, etc. to each university once in five years, as in Great Britain, to assess its requirements and allocate funds on the basis of the committee's recommendations. This is in accordance with the best traditions of civilized countries, and it would be unwise of the Government of India to interfere with the State Universities in any way on the ground of grants made to them. There are, doubtless, instances in which the behaviour of the States towards their universities has been open to grave objection; but that is no reason why the powers of either the Universities or the States should be curtailed. By training public opinion, it should be possible to set matters right. The Universities, in their turn, must realise that they cannot live and operate apart from, or outside, their societies and without regard for their Government. 'Ivory towers' may have been possible in the past, but they are difficult to justify in a democratic country in which the funds for their maintenance are provided by the tax-payer.

Closely allied to the problem of University Autonomy is the mode of appointing the Vice-Chancellor. In India, the early Universities, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, had their Vice-Chancellors directly appointed by the Chancellor, i.e. by the Government concerned. Allahabad and Lucknow adopted a democratic pattern as far back as 1920, and Madras a little later. Many Universities have also followed this example, under which the Vice-Chancellor is elected by the Senate. Broadly speaking, there are two modes of selecting a Vice-Chancellor in this country: one, by election by the Senate (or

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Council) and the other, by nomination by Government. Betwixt and between, is the mode known as the Delhi pattern. In the Universities where the Vice-Chancellor is elected by the Senate, he automatically becomes a representative of the University Professors and Principals of affiliated colleges and thus enjoys their confidence; for the Senate mostly consists of them. This gives him a great advantage in his day-to-day administration of the University. In particular, he obtains, by and large, the necessary support from the University bodies in all executive affairs. At any rate, academic freedom is ensured to a great extent under this system, as the Vice-Chancellor can stand up to Government if any attempt is made by it to interfere in the administration of the University. This is not ordinarily possible if the Vice-Chancellor owes his appointment to Government. It will be distinctly embarrassing to the nominated Vice-Chancellor to refuse to oblige the Education Minister or the Chief Minister of the State.

The most important drawback of the system of direct nomination by Government is that the public will hold Government responsible if the University concerned does not make adequate progress, or if the administration leaves much to be desired, under the executive head appointed by Government. Under the system, instead of standing aloof and watching the administration from above, Government may be directly entangled in the politics of the University. In University administration, students and teachers have to be handled with sympathy and understanding, and not by ordering them about. Only an educationist who has himself had the experience of teaching and known the aspirations and difficulties of students will find it easy to handle a difficult situation. In other words, the Vice-Chancellor must be a source of inspiration to the teachers and students and not a wooden administrator.

The characteristic of the 'Delhi pattern' is that, to all intents and purposes, the Government appoints the Vice-Chancellor, only without giving such an impression to the public. It is a very clever device in the hands of the Government of India, to appoint a Vice-Chancellor and yet take no direct responsibility for the appointment. It would appear as though he was, so to say, handpicked by Government from a panel of four or five; actually, Government makes up its mind when to appoint, several months before the selection committee is even formed. And their man is eventually selected. Now, how does this happen?

The procedure starts with the appointment of a selection committee consisting of two or three representatives of the Syndicate, or Executive Council, who are not connected with the University. This is, indeed, a good idea! On this committee the Government

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of India includes one representative of its own. The committee is authorised to suggest a panel of three or four names for the Vice-Chancellorship. Each member of the selection committee proposes two or three names; but the names should be such as would be accepted by all (or at least the majority of) the members of the committee. During the couple of hours in which such names are considered, it is about the easiest thing under the sun for the Government's representative to push in his man, while the other members are having a hot discussion about their own men. Eventually, a panel of three or four names is prepared and submitted to the authority concerned. And the list invariably includes the name suggested by the Government's representative, who naturally knows the person Government wants. This system has so far worked very well as far as the Central Universities are concerned, for two reasons; first, the person the Government has in mind is an eminent and highly cultured person, known for his ability, industry and integrity. Secondly, the names are drawn from all over India, so that no one member of the selection committee knows intimately the person proposed by the other. So, the members try to accommodate one another and there is no difficulty in submitting a panel of suitable names. The Central Universities have, therefore, been lucky, on the whole, in having competent Vice-Chancellors, although critics may point to one or two exceptions. But this system may not work in the case of the State Universities, as the above two conditions which are mainly responsible for the success of the 'Delhi model' are not likely to be fulfilled. In the case of State Universities, the representatives of the Syndicate may not accept the name proposed by the Government representative, and the Government may not accept any of the names included in the panel. Each party may stand on its own prestige and deadlock may well ensue. In the end, Government will realise the gravity of the situation and amend the University Act in the way it likes. This will either be direct nomination by Government or election by the Senate (or Court) concerned. There is no other alternative, although the Governments concerned may try to modify the Delhi pattern in some suitable way. The crux of the problem is to select a man of character with good educational qualifications and some administrative and teaching experience. How the selection is made does not matter. For, as Pope says:

> For forms of government let fools contest;
> What'er is best administered is best.
> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right!

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These are a few of the problems the universities have to face for some years in our country. Those in particular of numbers and standards will grow in complexity, as years roll on. They must be faced with courage, determination and strength as well as with clear minds. There will be times when they will appear to be insuperable; but I am optimistic enough to feel that they are not incapable of solution.

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CHAPTER TWENTY:

epilogue

In the preceding chapters, I have narrated some of my experiences in life, particularly relating to those in the field of education. Let us look back over the ground covered, and also ahead as far as possible.

I began with a scene at Mamdapur, where I was born and brought up in the early years of my life. In place of the mud-plastered building which stood there sixty years back, stands now a two-storeyed building with a roof of Mangalore tiles. It was constructed in the early thirties out of the savings of my brother Veerabhadrappa and myself. Our object was to make Father and our eldest brother, Sangappa, happy now that we were well placed in life. Father desired to have more land at Mamdapur and it was the only wealth he colud conceive. Nothing interested him more than to work on his own land. In place of the five acres we possessed when I was young, he had fifty acres of fertile land at the time of his death at the ripe age of eighty-five. He worked hard on his land and was quite happy. Neither I nor Veerabhadrappa, who occupied a high position in the Bombay Agricultural Department, spared any effort to satisfy the needs of either Father or our eldest brother, Sangappa, who died a few years back. The latter had two sons, whom we educated and who are now in good positions.

My family life has been a happy one. We live a simple and unsophisticated life, with every one in the family deeply attached to every other. To run the house and look after the children has been the wife's responsibility which she carries out with singular devotion and efficiency. She also shares some of my responsibilities as Vice-Chancellor, as far as life on the University campus is concerned. We have only two sons and a daughter. Both sons finished their education at Cambridge in my old college and both have chosen engineering as their career. The daughter is still young and goes to school. In the modern economic conditions, the wife has either to contribute something to the family budget by working outside or to run the house efficiently without depending too much on servants. Mine plays the

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second role and I have had no worries on the domestic front. Most educated girls in India are inclined to choose the first alternative, and are less interested in looking after the home. When one of my girl-clerks in Poona once said she hated cooking, it shocked me. Manual work gives serenity to the mind and there is plenty to do and think of in running the house and making everybody happy. I have always advised girls in schools and colleges that their ultimate objective should be to be a good housewife and that they should study Home Science. Some part of female education has to be technical training for motherhood.

As I look upon the past thirty five years' service in the field of education, I feel like Longfellow's Village Blacksmith:

"Something attempted, something done,
Has earned a night's repose."

Yes, Something attempted and something done during these years devoted to the service of the people. Education is a part of social service and one's achievements here cannot be spectacular. The more you achieve in any field of social service, the more remains to be done. Even so, I am happy that at least some problems I have been able to tackle with some measure of success. The first was introduction of compulsory Primary education in the old Bombay State. Barring the old Baroda State, no other province had tried it on a massive scale, as Bombay did as far as back 1947. My main interest has always been spread of education and culture among the masses. I have always believed that, we, as a nation, cannot make much headway, without giving to every boy and girl an opportunity for the development of his or her talent. It was my good fortune to be at the top of the educational administrative ladder just at the time of our attainment of independence. The Congress party had then no experience of administration, but was in high spirits and anxious to achieve something great for the good of the country. Bombay State's Chief Minister the late Shri B. G. Kher, was an idealist and gave high priority to schemes of development in education and that without much encouragement from the Government of India at the time in the form of subsidies. I took advantage of this mood and embarked upon a scheme of compulsory Primary education all over the State for children of 7-11, almost immediately on my appointment, as Head of the Education Department. A compulsory scheme might well be on paper only. Its success depends on the missionary zeal and vigour with which the scheme is implemented. We take a census of the children in the compulsory age-group and register their names; but the real problem is to bring the children concerned to

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school and to make them interested in the school work.

My main function was to enthuse the Inspecting and Attendance officers in all the districts; this I did, not merely by issuing circulars from Poona, but also by visiting every district, checking on the work done and encouraging the officers. I used to study the attendance figures of each district, month by month, and write to the officers concerned praising their work or expressing my disappointment at the results. By such personal letters, I galvanised the executive officers of the Department and, on the whole, we achieved good results. The statistics for the year 1947-49 would show that 80% of children of the school-going age attended school regularly. The introduction of compulsion reduced wastage in primary schools to some extent. This was no mean achievement! Such compulsory measures were introduced in other States, fourteen years after Bombay. At last the Government of India realised the importance 'educating our masters' and of the ideal that no child shall grow up without the key to knowlege.

The second problem I have tackled with some measure of success is to build up the Karnatak University on sound lines during the last ten yea rs. I have, in one of the previous chapters, described the conditions in which I found the University when I was first elected its Vice-Chancellor. The first measure I took was to rescue it from the 'politics', it had developed during the short period of five years before I came on the scene. This I did by being fair and impartial to all colleges and to all teachers. One can never win confidence unless one is strict about observance of rules and regulations and at the same time friendly and helpful. The progress of a university naturally depends on the work of the teachers. The Vice-Chancellors' role is simply to keep the ideals of university education before the teachers. Progress is often hindered by the existence of 'politics' and 'groupism'. Vice-Chancellors must be above various parties while helping create an atmsophere of academic freedom. There were sixty post graduate students when I took over as Vice-Chancellor; now there are 1200, spread over twenty two-postgraduate departments. Many visitors compliment me on the nice university campus; but I tell them that is the work of my Garden Superintendent. My chief pride lies in the fact that we have been able to attract students and teachers from all over India and even from foreign countries including Great Britain, France and the United States. We have been doing our best to avoid too much of 'inbreeding' and narrow regionalism.

There are more than 100 students carrying on postgraduate research for the Ph. D. Degree in the Natural and Social sciences, in

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Literature and Linguistics. It is our practice to appoint external referees from Great Britain, France, Japan, Switzerland and the United States and, in many cases, great appreciation has been expressed by the external referees. This, too, gives me some satisfaction ; but I am aware that what we are doing or achieving in this university in the fields of science and humanities is like a drop in a vast ocean.

If India is to attain intellectual leadership in various branches of knowledge, as indeed our ancestors did in the past, the proper atmosphere has to be created in our universities for research. My own experience of college Professors under the old Bombay Government was that high salary was necessary, but not sufficient, to ensure independent thinking and research. Professors are apt to think that their position is due to the high academic distinctions they won in their student days and that they need not do anything except routine teaching for their promotion according to seniority. This principle of seniority is at the root of all our troubles in the public services of our country. Unless we encourage talented and hardworking men of high ideals and character by special promotion, we cannot expect good results. Security of service and the principles of seniority give plenty of scope for officers to become easy-going or indifferent to their duties and responsibilities. This is particulary so in the Educational Service. When I realised that Professors in Government colleges were no better than Lecturers or even Assistant Lecturers as far as teaching was concerned, and that their contribution to the extension of the boundaries of knowledge in their own subject was practically nil, I introduced, with the approval of the Government, the system of contract appointments for the posts of Professors. The Professor was to be appointed on a much higher salary than was usually possible under the I. E. S. or Bombay Educational Service Class I, but was tenable only for a period of five years. The renewal of the contract depended on the work he had done during the period. This worked very well and enabled us to recruit some outstanding Professors. The same practice is obtaining in this University. The Bombay Government gave up the system after my retirement from service. I, however, understand that in Russia the same system is in vogue for University teachers. They are much better paid than any civil servants; but are appointed for a period of five years only. At the end of the period, the continuance of the Professor depends on his work and is decided by a ballot by the Faculty concerned. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Russia has today achieved such great distinction in the intellectual and technical fields as to be the envy of the whole world. I am all for improving the status of the teacher in

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every way, but the tax-payer is justified in expecting an adequate return.

The Government of India is much concerned about the high percentage of failures in our Universities. There is hardly any seminar or conference in which the Minister of Education or his Secretary does not exhort the Universities to improve the percentage of passes in the examinations. Any expectation of improvent in the situation would be mere wishful thinking unless the root cause is removed. The root cause is undoubtedly the indiscriminate admissions. In these conditions there is a limit to what we can achieve by such measures as tutorials. My own University is one of the few which have been insisting on tutorials and seminars for some years and yet our results haven't improved to any considerable extent. The public must have a clear picture of what the university can and should do, and what it cannot and should not do. Many people are under the impression that universities are some thing like factories where the raw material in the shape of students is fed at one end and comes automatically out at the other end in the form of successful candidates. Education is an organic process and, unless the quality of the intake is reasonably good, it is unreasonable to expect that the present situation will improve. The expansion of university education is taking place, it is my belief, at the cost of the standards of education. University education is a privilege for special ability. Democracy does not mean admission for all, irrespective of their capacity to benefit from them; it only means that the students who possess the skill but are poor should be supported by the State. No one should be admitted unless he satisfies the tests of minimum attainment and ability. In Great Britain students are not automatically admitted to university on the results of the school-leaving examination, as we do here. In America and Russia, those who fail at the end of the first year are asked to leave the university straightaway. In those countries, there are plenty of employment opportunities for those who do not possess a university degree. The problem in India is to provide opportunities of gainful employment or an alternative occupational career to a large number of young men and women at the end of the school-leaving stage. The post ponement of securing employment to a large number of our young men till they obtain a university degree with several failures results in wastage of energy and money.

India is a developing country, and its future development depends on the training of promising young people in research laboratories in the sciences and technologies. The present rate of growth in student numbers will continue for years, even though

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admission restrictions are strictly enforced. It would be unrealistic to expect that in the next few years the classes will be of a size normally considered desirable. The universities have to do their best to meet these special difficulties, by devising various means of paying as much individual attention as possible. One of the recent developments which gives me some satisfaction is the large increase in the numbers of postgraduate students. This will continue to meet the problem of staffing new colleges and also of increasing research activity in the universities.

Although I have no problems of discipline in my University, I am far from satisfied with the relationship between students and teachers as generally seen in our country. One often hears of strikes and lockouts in universities, and this in a country where, from times immemorial, students have been taught to believe that the teacher is a 'god'. At any rate, students were once accustomed to rendering personal service to their 'gurus'. In the present matter-of-fact world, the relationship between teacher and taught unfortunately tends to be mechanical and business-like and this occasionally causes some headaches to the university authorities. This situation is largely the outcome of a certain amount of State control over educational institutions including Universities. Students think only of their rights and principles and less of their duties and responsibilities. This attitude sometimes leads even to litigation. Mysore State has perhaps established a record in the number of writ petitions of students before the High Court, either against Government or against the Universities, very often against both. I am not worried about these petitions, except for the fact that we have to find funds for meeting the legal expenses. But the mere idea is shocking ! University means teachers in so far as admissions, curricula and examinations are concerned, and the teachers are in *loco parentis* to their students. The grievance of students against a university, therefore, means a grievance against parents, and one does not air such grievances before a High Court ! Such a state of affairs is unthinkable in other advanced countries with traditions of academic freedom. However, I hope this is only a transitional stage and the normal relations between students and teachers will soon be re-established. Even now, all the trouble is due to interference by external trouble-makers ; for, I know that our students, left to themselves, are at least as good as any we can find in the rest of the world.

For teachers, the only reward is the esteem in which their students look upon them. What they say and what they do, affect their pupils both in the classroom and outside, to a great extent, in the formation

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of their attitudes. We always advise students to be open-minded, to be free from prejudice, to guard against superstition and dogma, to see that the scales of justice are even and fair, and above all to be free from communalism. These are commonplace qualities which every educated man and woman must have cultivated, if education has any meaning or purpose at all; and yet, experience shows that they are more honoured in the breach than in the observance in the public life of our country today. And who is responsible for it? Of course, we educationists! Once the late Mr. B. G. Kher, the then Chief Minister of Bombay, was bitterly complaining against some of his party men. He was stunned when I told him that he and I were responsible for their lack of character. I said, "You are Education Minister and I am Head of the Education Department. You and I must squarely take the responsibility for not bringing them up properly in our schools and colleges."

If the teachers are selfless, patriotic and devoted to their duties, so should the students be. Nobody exercises greater influence on young minds than the teacher. Mere advice is no good. If words could change the pattern of our society, we should have accomplished wonders by now; and yet we are far, far away from our objectives. The reason is that we do not practise what we preach. An ounce of practice has a more salutary effect on the rising generation—our future leaders—than a ton of preaching. The teachers' responsibility is to make our young men and women industrious and hard-working, free from communal and parochial bias, and kind and sympathetic to others, just and fair to all. Students should love adventure and develop initiative, self-reliance and originality. All these can only be achieved if we see the distant goals ahead and are determined to set our faces to them and our feet to the road!

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